

M E M O I R S

OF

CLAUDE JOLI,

CANON of NOTRE-DAME;

AND OF THE

DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.

VOL. III.



5 Table B a
M E M O I R S

OF

G U Y J O L I,

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO

CARDINAL DE RETZ;

C L A U D E J O L I,

CANON of NOTRE-DAME;

AND THE

DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.

These several HISTORIES form a SUPPLEMENT to,
and an Illustration of the MEMOIRS of CARDINAL
DE RETZ.

Translated from the ORIGINAL

By E D W A R D T A Y L O R.

In THREE VOLUMES.

Who has not read the Memoirs of DE RETZ, of JOLI, and
the DUTCHESS of NEMOURS? these WRITERS were Eye
Witnesses of the Facts which they relate.

Preface to the Memoirs of CHOISY.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. DAVIES, in Ruffel-Street, Covent-Garden,
Printer to the Royal Academy,

M,DCC,LXXV.



M E M O I R S

O F

CLAUDE JOLI.

Concerning Cardinal de Retz.*

THOSE who are unacquainted with the proceedings of the general assembly in 1655, and with the state of public affairs from that period to the year 1668, as also with the determinations of the above assembly, relative to certain infringements made by the court of Rome, on the rights of the bishops and of the whole Gallican church, tending to annihilate the regulations made by the assembly in 1650:—such persons, I say, may, possibly, judge that it was unnecessary in a detail of the transactions of the assembly in 1655, to include those of the two former, respecting certain claims, set up by his Holiness, in the years 1632 and 1633, to a right of jurisdiction in those causes, which are termed *Majeures*†, originating in France. But the sequel will evince the

* This is only part of a larger work, in manuscript.

† All criminal processes instituted against a bishop, and other similar cases come under this head.

absolute expediency both of this recapitulation, and also of a summary account of those events which happen'd in the diocese of Paris, in consequence of the death of Jean-Francois Gondy, the first archbishop of that city, who died on the 21st of March 1654: as from thence it will appear that the affair of his successor, (whose interests were considered, by the clergy of Leon and Alby as being inseparably connected with those of episcopacy and the church) was the principal, if not the sole cause of the extraordinary length of the sittings of that assembly, and of the two successive ordinances, issued by the court, for proroguing its meeting, from the 25th of May to the 25th of August, and from thence to the 25th of October 1655. As Cardinal de-Retz has observed, in his letter to the archbishops and bishops of France, dated at Rome 14th of December 1654, that the circumstance which first incensed the court against him, and which, probably, laid the foundation of most of the subsequent persecutions which he had undergone, arose from his unshaken perseverance in the execution of those orders which had been given him by the assembly in 1645;—for this reason, it will be indispensably requisite to give an account of those persecutions hinted at by the Cardinal, from the violent effects of which neither the church of Paris, nor those persons whom he had appointed to act in his name were exempted.

The appointment of an extra number of masters of requests: the till then, unheard of powers, delegated to certain persons, who were sent into different provinces, with an authority superseding that
of

of the parliaments: the long delay in acquitting the demands on the fund of the Hotel de Ville of Paris, the proprietors of which were, at length, compelled to unite, and to elect a number of syndics, whose election was afterwards confirmed by the parliament: these, and several other innovations, produced a great ferment in the state, and occasioned a union of the, as yet, superior courts, each of which sent its deputies to the general assemblies, which were constantly held during this period, in the chamber of St. Louis. The court exerted all its power to prevent these assemblies, from a conviction that they strongly tended to diminish the authority both of the ministers and the Regency.

At these assemblies, the Coadjutor of Paris, whose office entitled him to a seat in the parliament, frequently attended, as did also the Abbé of St. Denis: and, as the avowed purpose of these meetings was to oppose the measures of the government, those amongst the malecontents, whose rank and dignity were supposed to give them the most sway with the rest, were naturally deemed the principal promoters of the transactions carrying on.

In the year 1648, the Coadjutor delivered an oration in praise of St. Louis, in the Jesuits church, the King and Queen being present: he took his text from these words of Solomon, *Audi, fili mi, disciplinam patris tui, & legem matris tuæ ne dimittas*. This sermon was quickly printed, through the assiduity of Guy Joli, a counsellor of the Chatelet, one of the syndics, and the Coadjutor's intimate friend, in conjunction with a magistrate whose probity is equal to his erudition, of which the public as received the most convincing proofs in

the work which he publish'd in 1667, in defence of the claim of the Queen Maria-Theresa of Austria, daughter of Philip IV. King of Spain, to the territory of Brabant. Those who were well acquainted with him, and were judges of his style and manner of writing, entertained a strong opinion that he was the author of the above sermon.

On the next day, Wednesday, the King and Queen went to the church of *Notre Dame*, to be present at the *Te-Deum* which was performed on occasion of the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé, near Lens. The Coadjutor officiated: and, the service being over, whilst he was yet in the vestry, taking off his pontifical robes, the news was brought that Peter Broussel, a counsellor of the grand chamber, the President de Blanc-Mesnil, President of the first chamber of enquiries, and several others, had been that moment taken into custody, and that letters *de Cachet* had been left at the houses of some other persons, by which they were banish'd to the places therein specified.

When the news of this event came to the knowledge of the boat-men on the quays near St. Landri's church, in the neighbourhood of which M. Broussel resided, and the environs, they immediately assembled in a body, but without any other arms than their boat hooks. This presage of an approaching tumult gave the alarm to the companies of French and Swiss guards, which had attended their Majesties to the *Te-Deum*, and had remained, from that time, posted in the new street of *Noire Dame*, the New Market, the street of St. Louis, and on the Goldsmith's quay: but, finding, to their

their great astonishment, that no orders were sent for relieving them, they, of their own accord, quitted their posts, and, without any regularity, carrying their muskets under their arms, without beat of drum, and un-accompanied by their principal officers, marched towards the *Palais Royal*.

The Coadjutor, also, repaired thither, still habited in his pontifical robes, which his haste had not permitted him to lay aside: but, as the streets were barricaded with chains, and rows of casks, filled with dung and earth, he was compelled to go on foot. He met with a very harsh reception from the Queen, who paid no regard to his arguments, to induce her to set those persons at liberty who had been taken into custody, and to recall the exiles, although he sat before her, in a strong light, the manifest danger to which the royal family was exposed, in the present critical situation of affairs. However, her Majesty yielded to the request made to her, on the subject, by the parliament, who waited on the Queen, in a body, for that purpose, on the next day. Their first application proved fruitless: but, having been compelled, by those who guarded the barricado in the quarter called the *Croix du Tiroir*, to return back to the *Palais Royal*, to reiterate their demands, they, at length, succeeded.

After the audience, the Coadjutor, with much vexation of mind, and being greatly fatigued, retired to his palace; being obliged to return thither likewise on foot. He was supported by the Abbé de Marigny and another person, and was both preceded and followed by a numerous body of people, of all ranks, who attended him to the place of his residence.

As the Queen's acquiescence with the above-mentioned application of the parliament had been, in a manner, extorted, and as even this concession did not suffice to allay the ferment, which had so suddenly arisen in the superior courts and amongst the people, her Majesty, therefore, publickly manifested her resentment, and her full determination to seize the first opportunity of gratifying her vengeance. With this view, her Majesty secretly withdrew from Paris, with the King, at a late hour of the night, on the 5th of January 1649, and retired to St. Germain en Laye. Immediately after this retreat, it was determined in the council to lay siege to the city of Paris, with the troops which were in Flanders and on the frontiers of Picardy; and the Prince of Condé took upon himself the command of the army destined for this service.

The parliament assembled on the same day, although a holiday, and issued such orders as were judged requisite for its own safety and the defence of the city. The necessary regulations were also made, in concert with the provost of the merchants, the sheriffs, and the principal inhabitants, for holding the usual meetings at the Hotel de Ville: and troops were raised, the command of which was given, in the beginning, to the Duke d'Elbeuf, who was the first person that tendered his services to the parliament and city.

Some time afterwards, the Prince of Conti, who, together with the Duke de Longueville, his brother-in-law, had quitted St. Germain en Laye and returned to Paris, was appointed generalissimo, in the room of the Duke d'Elbeuf. The Duke de Longue-

Longueville went into Normandy, leaving the Dutchess, as a pledge of his fidelity, at Paris, where she was delivered, in a few days afterwards, of a son, to whom the city of Paris stood sponsors, and gave him the name of Charles-Paris d'Orleans: he was killed at the passage of the Rhine, in the year 1672, near the fort of Schenk. The Dukes of Beaufort and Bouillon, the Marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt, and several other officers, who either were in reality, or, at least, affected to be disgusted with the conduct of the court and Cardinal Mazarin, were appointed lieutenant-generals, under the Prince of Conti.

The Coadjutor was so much incensed by the treatment he had experienced at the late audience, at the *Palais Royal*, that he resolved to give some public testimony of his displeasure; and accordingly, under colour of providing for the defence of that part of his flock contained within the walls of Paris, he raised a regiment of cavalry, to which he gave his own title, and the command of which he conferr'd on his relation, the Chevalier de Serignî.

After a siege of three months, a peace was at length concluded, at Ruel: but there still subsisted two parties in the city, one in support, the other in opposition to the court; the latter being headed by the Duke of Beaufort, who had acquired much esteem with the people, the Coadjutor, the Dutchess de Chevreuse, Noirmoutier, and a number of others. And now, although the Prince of Condé had rendered great and eminent services to the Queen and Cardinal Mazarin, even to the total ruin of his reputation with the public, yet, as they both dreaded the greatness and power of

his Highness's family, and the authority which he possessed over the army, which was composed of such regiments as were totally at the disposal of himself and his friends, orders were issued by the court for taking him into custody, together with the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville. These orders were accordingly executed, on the evening of the 18th of January 1650, by the Count de Miossans, since known by the title of Marshal d'Albret, and M. Guitaut, the captain of the Queen's guards, who conducted their prisoners, under a strong escort, to the castle of Vincennes.

The Prince of Condé having totally forfeited the esteem and affection of the Parisians, not only by his general conduct, in siding with the court against them, but also by the encouragement he had given to his troops, during the siege, in their ill-treatment both of the prisoners they made, and also of such of the country people, who ventured to carry provisions from the neighbouring villages to the city: for this reason, I say, there could be little room to imagine that his Highness's imprisonment would give rise to any commotion amongst the citizens: however, the court took every precaution to guard against any attempt, of the kind, which might be made by the domestics or the friends of the Princes. As it was observed that the Duke of Beaufort, who stood high in the opinion of the populace, rode through divers parts of the city, at ten o'clock the same night, attended by a numerous body of persons on horseback, and followed by several artizans, on foot, shouting "God save the King!" this circumstance induced a suspicion, that the Duke, the Coadjutor, and the rest
of

of their party had some concern in the foregoing transaction. Matthew Molé, who was, at that time, the first President of the parliament, being sent for immediately to the *Palais Royal*, and the Queen having acquainted him with the circumstance of the imprisonment of the Princes, he exclaimed, with an accent and gesture both of grief and astonishment, "Ah! Madam, what have you done? "They are the offspring of the royal blood!" insinuating thereby that this measure, which had been adopted merely to gratify a foreigner, and to support him in his post of prime minister, must, necessarily, be attended with fatal effects: a speech nearly similar to that made by Catherine de Medicis, to the King, her son, after the action at Blois.

The sequel verified the apprehensions of this eminent and sagacious magistrate. During this period, the parliament assembled almost daily. The Princess Dowager of Condé distributed amongst the members printed copies of a petition, which she had laid before the parliament, for the release-ment of her two sons and her son-in-law: for which purpose she repaired, at five o'clock in the morning, to the apartment of the officers attending that court, situated close to the doors of the grand chamber. Her Highness had been secretly conducted, on the night before, in the coach of M. de Garibal, one of the masters of requests, to the house of M. Le Fevre de Laubriere, a member of the parliament, the Abbé de Roquette, afterwards bishop of Autun, officiating a coachman on the occasion. The Princess of Condé, the Duke d'Anguien, and the Dutchess de Longueville had retired to Bourdeaux, which place was, in conse-

quence, besieged by the King's army, and defended by the Duke de Bouillon, with those troops which were attached to the house of Condé, and which had repaired thither from different Provinces. Amongst these troops, there were even some who had quitted the King's army, commanded by Marfin, in Catalonia, through the disgust which the whole province of Guyenne had conceived against the governor, the Duke d'Epéron. Marshal Turenne was at the head of an army, in Champagne, consisting partly of natives and partly of such Spanish troops as the King of Spain had furnished him with. A general assembly of the noblesse was held, at the great convent of the Cordeliers, in Paris, in which it was determined to petition the King to convoke the three estates of the kingdom, and to grant the Princes their liberty: it was also resolved to solicit the concurrence of the clergy, who assembled at the same time in the great Augustine's convent.

After the Marshal du Plessis, who commanded the King's army, had defeated that of Marshal Turenne, near Rhetel, and had compelled him to raise the siege of Guise, the Duke of Beaufort and his friends judged it absolutely expedient, as a means of counter-ballancing the too great addition of power which the court had acquired by these successes, to unite themselves with the party of the clergy and nobility. Finally, the assembly of the clergy deputed George d'Aubusson, archbishop of Ambrun, with remonstrances to the King and Queen; in consequence of a letter addressed to them by the Princess of Conti, which was written on one of the signed blanks, which her Highness had

had entrusted with some of her friends at Paris, to be used as occasion should require.

The author of this relation received orders, about midnight, to fill up one of these blanks for the above purpose, which was, accordingly, done, and the letter was presented to the assembly on the next day.

As Cardinal Mazarin clearly perceived the necessity of granting the Princes their liberty, he now set every engine in motion to obtain a reconciliation with them: and he concluded that the most likely method to effect this design would be to make it appear, to them and the whole nation, that their enlargement was owing to his interposition with the King and Queen in their favour.

With this view, his eminency went in person to Havre, with the orders for the Princes release-ment, where he arriv'd in the month of February 1651. Immediately upon his arrival, he sent a message to their Highnesses, requesting their permission to wait on them: but they nobly rejected his application; accompanying their refusal with many expressions of contempt; they being thoroughly satisfied that they were not at all indebted to him for their deliverance from prison. The Cardinal was, therefore, obliged to deposit the orders he had brought with him in the hands of M. de Bar, to whom he had confided the care of the Princes, and to depart the kingdom in the same instant. He retired first to Dinan, and from thence, successively, to Bouillon and several other places, attended by a few of the nobility; amongst whom Francois-Bonaventure de Harlay, Marquis of Brenal, elder brother of Francois de Harlay, who

was archbishop, first of Rouen and afterwards of Paris, had enlisted himself with great disinterestedness. The abovemention'd prelate, was, also, sole perpetual President of the general assemblies of the clergy: a dignity which he had acquired by his address, in procuring all those cardinals and archbishops, who might have contested his pretensions thereto, to be excluded from the deputations of the various other provinces.

Another incident, which conduced to accelerate the releasement of the Princes, was their removal from the castle of Vincennes to that of Marcouffi, and from thence to the fort of Havre, situated in Normandy, of which province the Duke de Longueville, one of the three Princes, was governor, but the fort was commanded by the Duke de Richelieu, who was strongly attached to the Prince of Condé, to whom he was related: this circumstance, I say, awakened the general resentment of the public, who could no longer permit two Princes of the royal blood, and another who was entitled to succeed to the throne, to remain in the power of a foreigner, and of an Italian Cardinal, their avowed enemy.

This removal was occasioned by a suspicion which the Cardinal had conceived, that the friends of the Princes, whose party appeared to encrease daily in the city, might, possibly, attempt to release them, by force, from the castle of Vincennes, which is only a league and a half distant from Paris. The care of their removal he entrusted to the Count d'Harcourt, who undertook to conduct them to Havre, with a numerous escort, consisting of the body guards, the gendarmes, the
light

light horse, and others of the King's household troops.

The Count was universally blamed on this occasion; although it was known that, from the narrowness of his circumstances, he stood in great need of the favour of the court: but it was deemed highly derogatory to the honor of a Prince of the house of Lorraine, who had acquired much reputation and glory, at the head of the King's armies, in Provence, Piedmont, Italy, and other parts, to take upon himself the office of a Provost-Marshal: this was the title given him, in derision, by the Prince of Condé, when on the road from Marcouffi to Havre.

It was on the 16th of February 1651, about three o'clock in the afternoon, that the Princes arrived at Paris; accompanied not only by their friends, but also by several persons belonging to the court, some of whom had gone as far as St. Denis, and others still farther, to meet them. They went strait to the *Palais Royal*, the guard being under arms, and were conducted to an audience of the King and Queen, to whom they returned thanks for their enlargement.

Several of the first days after their arrival were spent in paying the most necessary visits, and in giving audience to those who flocked to them in crowds, to compliment them on their return. However, they did not appear openly in public till after the proper preparations were made for their going into mourning, for Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, Princess Dowager of Condé, (the mother of the Princes of Condé and Conti, and mother-in-law of the Duke de Longueville) whose death happened towards the latter end of December

1650.

1650. Those who were employed for this purpose had caused the calot of the Prince of Condé to be nailed to his coach: judging that, as first Prince of the blood, he had a right to that mark of distinction; particularly as the title of *Serene Highness* had recently been granted to the Princes of the blood, to denote the difference of rank between them and such of the nobility as possessed, simply, that of *Highness*. But Madame d'Orleans, the Dutchess of Montpensier, having given the Prince to understand that none but the King's own children were entitled to this privilege, he immediately ordered the necessary alteration to be made in the coach.

The Princess Dowager of Condé died at Châtillon-sur-Loire, the seat of her relation the Dutchess of Châtillon, and since of Meckelbourg, widow of the Duke of Châtillon, who was killed at the attack of Charenton, on the 25th of January 1649. Her Highness had retired thither from Angerville, where she had resided, in the house of M. Perraut, president of the chamber of accounts, and many years an intendant in the family of Condé, from the time that the court had prohibited her from appearing at Paris, in consequence of her having presented a petition to the parliament, on the subject of the imprisonment of her children, as already related.

As her Highness's death happened during the time of the general assembly of the clergy, it was found necessary to pay her all those funeral honours to which she was entitled, as the widow of a first Prince of the blood, notwithstanding the distressed situation of herself and her family at her decease; being oppressed with affliction, and deprived

prived of the attendance of all her children. The Princes of Condé and Conti, her sons, together with her son-in-law, the Duke de Longueville, were yet in confinement; her daughter-in-law, the Princess of Condé, with her only son, the Duke d'Anguien; as also her daughter, the Dutchess de Longueville, and her two children, the Counts de Du-nois and S. Paul, had taken refuge at Bourdeaux and other distant places.

Isaac Hubert, bishop of Vabres, formerly a prebend in the church of Paris, was requested by the assembly, (to which he had been deputed by the province of Bourges) to pronounce the oration, at the funeral service which had been appointed to be performed in the church of the great Augustines. He justified their choice of him; and acquitted himself in the office, which the critical situation of public affairs had rendered extremely embarrassing, with great reputation, but, at the same time, with a freedom truly episcopal. Speaking of the great virtues of the deceased, he could not refrain from reminding his audience of the first disgraces and misfortunes with which it had pleased heaven to visit the house of Condé, meaning the long imprisonment, of upwards of three years, which her husband had undergone; he having remained in confinement from the 7th of September 1616, to the month of October 1619. It were unnecessary to repeat here all the particulars of the above funeral oration, or of the other solemn services which were performed, at different times: however, it will be proper to observe, that the frequency of these mournful solemnities strongly tended to encrease the scorn and hatred which the people had entertained, for upwards of three years past, to the person

perſon and name of Cardinal Mazarin, and which was now ariſen to ſo great a height, that the Queen found herſelf obliged to make a ſhew of abandoning him, and to ſend him out of the kingdom. Another circumſtance, which happened at this time, ought particularly to be mentioned. M. de Bar, who had the command of the troops, appointed to guard the Princes during their imprisonment in the caſtle of Vincennes, had ſtationed a number of centinels, (who, for the greater ſecurity, were cau- tiouſly reſtricted from all manner of intercourſe with thoſe who did duty in the other parts of the caſtle) in the court-yard adjoining to the apartment in which the Princes were confined, in order to prevent their receiving any intelligence, either by letter or otherwiſe. Theſe men, however, taking pity on the unfortunate condition of the Princes, and judging that their diſgraces could not be of long duration, being perſuaded, moreover, that any ſervices which they ſhould render their Highneſſes would be richly recompens'd, yielded to certain propoſals which ſome of the Princes agents had found means to communicate to them, and engaged to furniſh their priſoners with all the neceſſary means of carrying on a regular correſpondence with their friends. From this time, therefore, their Highneſſes were minutely informed of every thing that paſſed, either in Guienne, Picardy, Flanders, at court, or elſewhere: and, the implements for writing having been conveyed to them by their guards, they were enabled alſo to communicate to their friends ſuch inſtructions as they deemed requiſite for their conduct. The Prince of Condé being on a viſit to M. Chavigni, the governor of the caſtle of Vincennes, in the month of June 1652, went into
the

the room in which he had been formerly confined, where, in a hole in the side of the chimney, he found the two pens which he had made use of during his imprisonment.

The letters which the Princes received were written in cypher, the duplicates of them contained much matter, with very few cyphers, but which bore an extensive interpretation. They perused and answered these letters during the night, being in bed and with the curtains drawn close round them; whilst their attendants imagined that they were employed in reading some books which they had; no one presuming to interrupt them during the time. One of the persons, who waited upon the Princes in their chamber, was entrusted to deliver the letters to them, and to receive their answers: and the mode of conveyance adopted was by enclosing them, at one time, in the false bottoms of wine bottles, which had been made for the purpose, and, at others, in crown pieces which were hollow within.

The Princes, having thus obtained their liberty, sent Louis-Henri de Gondrin, archbishop of Sens, De la Rochefoucault, bishop of Leytour, brother to the Duke of that name, and Francois Pericard, bishop of Angoulême, to return thanks in their name, to the assembly of the clergy, for its kind mediation with the King and Queen in their favour.

The King was not declared of age till the 6th of September 1651, at which ceremony the Prince of Conti attended, habited in a violet-coloured robe.

An union had been formed, between the Coadjutor's party and that of the Princes, subject to certain conditions, of which the principal was the marriage

marriage of the Prince of Conti, with one of the daughters of the Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe, who was at the head of the firſt mentioned party. The Princes, on their part, made an outward ſhew of adhering to their engagements with the moſt ſcrupulous ſtrictneſs. The Prince of Conti reſigned the abby of Nicoleſme to one of the ſons of the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and that of Corbini to Saint Roman, who went afterwards ambaffador to Switſerland. He depoſited the abby of S. Denis, together with ſome others, in the hands of de Montreuil, his ſecretary, and ſurrendered up that of Clugny to the religious fraternity, by whom it had been conferred upon him, and who were deſirous of having the Duke d'Anguien for their abbot. But, in order to render theſe reſignations of no effect, the Prince, at the ſame time, revoked and annulled them, by other inſtruments, which were executed in all the due forms of law, and were kept totally ſecret, to be made uſe of when occaſion ſhould offer.

It were needleſs to give a diſtinct detail of every ſubſequent tranſaction: let it ſuffice, that the Coadjutor, who was invariably attached to the Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe, being highly exaſperated at the non-performance of the engagement relative to the marriage of the Dutcheſs's eldeſt daughter, who died ſoon after the releaſe of the Princes, quitted the party of the Prince of Condé and reſumed his former connections with the court. At this period, he obtain'd from the King his nomination to the cardinalſhip, which grant appeared, ſome time afterwards, at the beginning of the year 1652, to have been rather wreſted by force than acquired by

by sollicitation, as the King secretly revoked the appointment, in favour of the bailly of Vanlency, his ambassador at the court of Rome. But the bailly reaped no benefit from his Majesty's good intentions towards him; as the Pope, who had been privately informed of this revocation made a promotion of Cardinals in the first week in lent, amongst whom the Coadjutor of Paris was included. This transaction was carried on so secretly, that the ambassador had not the least suspicion of it, till the whole business was finished: when, going to demand an audience of the Pope, in order to acquaint him, in form, with the King's having reversed the Coadjutor's appointment, he met his Holiness coming out of the Consistory, where he had just performed the ceremony of nominating the new Cardinals.

The Coadjutor's promotion to the cardinalship, in spite of the court, was not so much owing to the assiduity of his agent at Rome, the Abbé Charrier, or to the officers of the Grand Duke and the other Princes of his family, as to the resentment which the Pope entertained against Cardinal Mazarin, for having compelled him, (by marching the French army into Italy, and seizing upon Piombino, Orbitello, and Portolongone, on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state) to grant a hat to his brother, Michel Mazarini, a dominican friar, whom the Cardinal had taken from his convent, and had conferred on him the archbishopric of Aix.

This promotion of the Coadjutor proved as little satisfactory to the archbishop of Paris as to Cardinal Mazarin: the former ill brooking that his nephew

nephew should have been preferred before him; and Cardinal Mazarin considering Cardinal de Retz as being now in a condition to acquire even the post of prime minister, or, at least, a very considerable share in the administration of affairs. His partizans were very assiduous in their endeavours to procure him the favour and friendship of Cardinal Mazarin, and to remove the suspicions which the latter had conceived, of his designs to supplant him in his post. But Cardinal Mazarin constantly replied to all their applications, " I am very willing to be his friend, but he seeks to obtain my post." nor did he conjecture wrong; as Cardinal de Retz directed all his views to the attainment of that single point.

During the King's absence from Paris, that city declared for the Prince of Condé, to whose troops it opened its gates, on the 2d of July 1652, immediately after their defeat in the suburb of S. Antoine. Cardinal de Retz and his party openly opposed the Prince: and his eminency, resorting to the Luxembourg Palace, at late hours of the night, after the Prince had retired from thence, effectually detached the Duke of Orleans from his interest, and dissuaded him from executing any of those engagements and promises, which the Prince had, perhaps but an hour before, obtained from his Royal Highness. The Prince of Condé, therefore, found himself obliged, after the retreat of the army which the Duke of Lorraine had led into France, to the assistance of his brother-in-law, to quit Paris, and to retire to Villeneuve St. George with his troops; by which movement, those of the King, commanded by Marshal Turenne, were for
some

some time, hemm'd in, on one side by the Prince's army, and on the other by the Lorrainers; but they were afterwards released from this disagreeable situation, by the departure of the latter out of the kingdom, which was supposed to have been negotiated by Cardinal de Retz, in Champagne. The Prince afterwards besieged and took the city of Rocroy.

The city of Paris, being thus freed from all restraint, by the retreat of the Prince of Condé with his army, now sought every means, to induce the court, which was then at Compeigne, to return, and to obtain from the King a general act of oblivion for all that was passed. Cardinal de Retz, accompanied by the deputies of the clergy, went to Compeigne, to entreat the King to return to his capital. The Provost of the merchants and the Sheriffs, attended by the deputies from the various districts of the city, went also, and were succeeded by all the companies, both of the merchants and the tradesmen: which latter deputations, although they gave great satisfaction to the court, proved highly disagreeable to Cardinal de Retz, who had taken upon himself the whole care of the negociation for the King's return. As a proof of the truth of this assertion, the Cardinal, in one of his subsequent letters, reproaches the court with the great services, which the Queen had publicly acknowledged, that he had rendered to the King on that occasion; her Majesty having declared, that the King's return to Paris had been brought about by Cardinal de Retz alone.

The desire which the Queen constantly expressed to retain Cardinal Mazarin and Mess. Servien, le Tellier, and Fouquet, in their several employments
about

about the King's person, all of whom were very apprehensive of Cardinal de Retz's enterprizing disposition, determined his Majesty to give orders for seizing the Cardinal when he should come in the evening to the *Palais Royal*. He had preached, on the first Sunday in Advent, in the Cathedral of Paris, and, when he had finished his discourse, a paper was found in the pulpit, containing the following words: *You shall preach, Cardinal, in spite of every one; but if you preach the coming of the Lord, it is not that of the Lord Jules.* This refers to Cardinal Mazarin, whose name was Jules.

On the evening on which Cardinal de Retz was taken into custody, he came alone to the *Palais Royal*, (whither he had frequently resorted, in disguise) and was conducted from thence to the castle of Vincennes: this event happened in the month of December 1652. M. Joli, who had given him previous intimation of the design which had been formed against him in the council, excused himself from accompanying him upon the occasion, telling him that, if he was determined thus to rush upon his ruin, he might act as he pleased, but that, for his part, he would not involve himself in that fate which must inevitably attend such great imprudence. To this resolution M. Joli was induced by a persuasion that the court had not forgotten his conduct in the year 1648; when the Proprietors of the fund of the Hotel de Ville appointed him one of their syndics, nor the sincere attachment which himself and his family had always manifested to the Cardinal, several of whom were afterwards exiled, in consequence of the Cardinal's escape from the castle of Nantes, in 1654, and of the subsequent transactions in the church and diocese of Paris.

The

The customary guard of the castle was now considerably augmented by a number of men, which were draughted from the first company of the King's body-guards, commanded by the Marquis de Noailles, who was the only person amongst the many to whom it was offered, that could be prevailed on to accept of the post, in prejudice of the Marquis de Chardenier, whom he succeeded in it, and to whom he never re-imbursed the money which it had originally cost him: Cardinal Mazarin, to whom he was much attached, having abetted him in this act of injustice towards a gentleman of the noble house of Rochefoucault, and nephew to the Cardinal of that name.

Claude du Flos, * who possessed an estate called Davanton, in Poitou, and was one of the grand exempts of the abovementioned company of the guards, took every imaginable precaution, to prevent any communication between Cardinal de Retz and his friends. This precaution was carried so far, that the soldiers, who were stationed about the apartment in which his eminency was confined, were never suffered to quit their post, not even for the purpose of going to mass, which was frequently performed by the Cardinal himself, and, sometimes, by one of the canons of the chapel of Vincennes, to which his eminency, after his escape from prison, presented the calice, the candlesticks, and all the other ves-

* The reader is desired to observe that, throughout the remaining part of the work, this person will be mentioned by the name of Davanton only, in conformity to a custom, which is common in France, of entitling persons by the names of their estates.

sels, &c. which he had caused to be made, for the celebration of that solemnity. This vigilance, however, did not produce the desired effect, as the Cardinal received constant information of every thing which pass'd, in which he was concerned. It has never appeared whether his eminency was most indebted to the avarice or compassion of some of his guards for this indulgence. As the death of his uncle was an event which would naturally produce a considerable alteration in his affairs, with respect to the great increase of power he would thereby acquire in the diocese of Paris, where it was imagined that the clergy, both secular and regular, and the people would highly resent the injury done to the church and religion, by the imprisonment of him whom God had given them for their pastor—for these reasons, his friends took proper care to inform him of certain signals which they proposed to make, in order to announce to him that event whenever it should happen. One of these signals was to be made by ringing certain bells, in the steeple of the church of *Notre-Dame*, in an unusual manner; and another by causing the clock, in the chapel of the castle of St. Vincennes, to strike the same hour twice successively. It has also been reported, that the priest who performed mass before him contrived to give him intimation of the above event, by raising his voice higher than ordinary, when he repeated the canon of the mass, and naming him by the title of, *Johannes Franciscus Paulus, Antistes noster*; the name of Paul distinguishing him from his uncle.

John Francis de Gondy, uncle of Cardinal de Retz, and the first archbishop of Paris, died during the night of the 21st of March 1654. Very early

in

in the morning of the next day, a person named Peter le Beure, being previously furnished with the proper powers from the Cardinal, repaired to the cathedral of Paris, and took possession of the see in his eminency's name and authority; after which he was installed in the archiepiscopal chair, with all the customary solemnities, and a *Te-Deum* was sung, accompanied by the chimes of the cathedral. This ceremony was performed in the presence of the deans, canons, and the other orders of clergy of the diocese, who were assembled on the occasion. The instruments by which Le Beure was impowered to take possession, were registered in due form, in the registry of the diocese; as were also those by which the Cardinal had constituted and appointed Messrs. l'Avocat and Chevalier his vicars-general, and M. Porcher, a doctor of the Sorbonne, president of the archiepiscopal court.

All the above instruments had been carried to the castle of Vincennes by Roger, the notary to the holy see, who found means to introduce himself into the Cardinal's apartment, in the disguise of a tapestry-maker's servant, carrying several pieces of tapestry. By this stratagem, he gave the Cardinal an opportunity of signing the writings he had brought with him, after which he retired, without being once suspected by his eminency's guards. This transaction is recorded in a manuscript book, in the cathedral of Paris, which contains, amongst other articles, a list of all those canons who had been promoted to the episcopal dignity and to the cardinalship. The author speaks of Cardinal de Retz in the following terms.

From this time, he was recognized as archbishop of Paris, not only throughout his own diocese, but

also by all the clergy of the kingdom. The priests mentioned his name in the public service of the church, and recommended him, under the above title, to the prayers of the people, in their sermons: both the clergy and people acknowledged the authority of his vicars general, who publickly and peaceably exercised their functions, without any interruption from the court; being solely restrained from making any new regulations, without first communicating them to the council. Although the court thus, both openly and privately, admitted the Cardinal's claim, and the authority of those persons to whom he had delegated his power, yet it was determined not to suffer him to keep possession of the see: and, as it was judged that the people would highly resent a further continuance of his imprisonment, every engine was set in motion, to induce him to resign his pretensions; on which terms, it was proposed to grant him his liberty, so soon as the Pope should have ratified his resignation, and should have appointed his successor. With this view, the Nuncio Bagny was ordered to visit the Cardinal, at Vincennes, under pretence of having received instructions to wait on him from the Pope, but, in fact, to sound him on the subject of the proposed resignation, to which he appeared to be greatly disinclined. At the different times at which the Nuncio waited on his eminency, he always found him in company with the Count de Brienne and M. Le Tellier, one of the secretaries of state, who came to him with proposals from the court. For some time the Cardinal remained inflexible: but, at length, being wearied out by the rigours of an imprisonment of sixteen months duration, and hoping that, by a compliance,

compliance, he should obtain a mitigation of his sufferings, he yielded to the proposals which had been made to him, and formally renounced his claim to the archbishopric, in the presence of two secretaries of state, the Count de Noailles, who commanded the King's body-guards, and the President de Bellievre. The last mentioned person was greatly surprized, on entering the castle, to learn from Davanton that his eminency had declared his willingness to resign the see, and that he (Davanton) had been witness to certain reciprocal engagements which had been entered into on the occasion; the particulars of which the Cardinal studiously avoided revealing, in a letter which he wrote expressly on the subject, after his escape from the castle of Nantes. Thus the public remained totally ignorant of the nature both of the above-mention'd engagements, and also of those stipulations which his eminency made, for himself and his friends, at the time when he resigned his pretensions in form. The silence of the court on this occasion arose from a conviction that the resignation which had been thus obtained from the Cardinal was altogether invalid, and that the Pope would never ratify it, through an apprehension lest other secular Princes should, from thence, conceive a notion that they were authorized to divest a bishop of his see at their pleasure.

The only consequence which resulted to the Cardinal from this resignation was a change in the place of his imprisonment, having been conducted by Davanton from Vincennes to the castle of Nantes, and delivered into the custody of the Marshal de la Meilleraye. The court had promised that upon his removal thither, he should be waited on by his own servants, and that his relations and

friends should be permitted to visit him, but, in spite of these promises, he now found himself as closely confined as before.

In this place, several circumstances occur which are necessary to be observed.

The first is, that the vicars-general of Cardinal de Retz, who had enter'd on the execution of their office on the 21st of March 1654, (the day on which the archbishop of Paris, his uncle, died) still continued to act under his authority, notwithstanding the renunciation which the court had obtained from him, at the castle of Vincennes, seeing that he yet retained his title and dignity, of which he could not be divested till the Pope should have confirmed his resignation, and should have appointed his successor.

The second article is, that the orders given to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, for augmenting the garrison of the castle, and for the close confinement of the Cardinal, were occasioned by the court's having received certain intelligence that his holiness, far from being inclined to accept of the Cardinal's resignation, under such circumstances, had rejected it, with many expressions of rage and resentment, as being highly injurious to the church and the sacred college.

The third circumstance to be noted is, that the Cardinal, in all those letters which he wrote at Rome, after his escape from the castle of Nantes, has constantly denied the charge brought against him by the court, of having promised the Marshal de la Meilleraye, that he would not attempt to procure his liberty by any irregular means.

The last article which requires to be observed is, that,

that, during the whole time of the Cardinal's imprisonment, both at Vincennes and at Nantes, comprizing a period of near twenty months, the court had never laid any crime to his charge, and that no judicial process had been instituted against him till after his escape from the castle of Nantes; which enterprize was executed in the following manner.

The Abbé Rousseau, a man of great strength and vigour, having procured cords for the purpose, let his eminency down, at noon-day, from the terrace of the castle, into a ditch which runs at the bottom of the wall, near the river; during which time the centinels who guarded his eminency were engaged in drinking a bottle of wine, which had been designedly given them by one of the Cardinal's servants. The more effectually to deceive the centinels, Rousseau spread the Cardinal's outer garment, together with his red cap, on a bench which his eminency made use of in performing his devotions, that, seeing his garments at a distance, they might be led to imagine, that he was then at prayers, as his valets had told them also, in order to prevent their approaching the spot.

One of the Marshal de la Meilleraye's pages, who was bathing at that instant in the river, perceiving a person coming down, by a cord, into the ditch, left the water with all haste, crying out, "Cardinal de Retz is attempting to make his escape!" but the sailors and others, who were on the shore, paid no attention to what he said, being fully employed in assisting a friar who was very near drowning.

His eminency was drawn out of the ditch by

some persons whom the Duke de Brissac had hired for the purpose, and was immediately mounted on horseback. But he had scarcely gone two hundred paces before, in turning the corner of one of the streets of the suburb, his horse falling, he was thrown off, and dislocated his shoulder. The persons who escorted him found it very difficult to persuade him to suffer himself to be remounted, although the Marshal de la Meilleraye's guards were then in fight.

All the necessary dispositions had been made for conducting him to Paris, where it was proposed that he should take possession of the archiepiscopal palace, or, in case that should not be judged a secure asylum, that he should secrete himself in the steeple of the cathedral.

But the above accident totally disconcerted all the measures which his friends had taken, and obliged himself and his attendants to fly for refuge to a place near Beaupreau, belonging to the Duke of Brissac, brother-in-law of the Duke de Retz, the Cardinal's brother.

Cardinal de Retz thus made his escape from the castle of Nantes on the 8th of August 1654, at which time the court and Cardinal Mazarin were employed in raising the siege of Arras, on the frontiers of Picardy, which was then invested by the Prince of Condé. His Highness was compelled to retire from before the place on the feast of St. Louis, which event would not have happened had Cardinal de Retz fortunately repaired to Paris, immediately after quitting the castle of Nantes, as, in that case, Cardinal Mazarin would, inevitably have been obliged to abandon Arras, in order

order to oppose the enterprizes of his greatest enemy, who had a whole people entirely at his devotion.

On the same day that Cardinal de Retz quitted the castle of Nantes, he wrote letters to the chapter of the cathedral, and to the curates of the city of Paris, acquainting them with his restoration to liberty.

LETTER I.

To the Chapter of the Church of Paris.

GENTLEMEN,

Having been hitherto debarred from manifesting my sense of the obligations which you have conferred on me, I eagerly seize this earliest opportunity to express my gratitude to you. And, as I had the happiness of being educated amongst you, to which circumstance I am ultimately indebted for my present dignity of archbishop of your city, which you, braving, for my sake, every danger and difficulty, have so generously laboured to preserve to me, I will, therefore, live and die in the possession of that title; hoping that, as your affection for me encreases, my gratitude and thankfulness may keep pace with it. Believe me sincere in my professions, and grant me that place in your friendship and your prayers which is so earnestly desired by,

GENTLEMEN,

Yours, &c.

(Signed) The Cardinal de RETZ.

C 4

Dated,

Dated, from the environs of Beaupreau, 8th of August 1654, and superscribed, to the dean, canons and chapter of the cathedral of Paris.

LETTER II.

To the Curates of Paris.

GENTLEMEN,

As soon as I had reached a place of safety, and found myself at liberty to express the sentiments of my mind, respecting the great regard which you have universally manifested for me, I immediately determined to make you my due acknowledgments, and to assure you that I will continue, for the rest of my days, inseparably attached to a clergy, who will ever be as dear to me as I have experienced them generous. My removal [from Vincennes to Nantes] was the work of your firmness, and my liberty of your prayers. I return you my best thanks for all your favours, and, hoping that you will continue your kind offices, I remain,

GENTLEMEN,

Yours, &c.

(Signed) The Cardinal de RETZ, Archbishop of Paris.

Dated, from the environs of Beaupreau, 8th of August 1654, and superscribed, to the curates of Paris.

Cardinal

Cardinal de Retz wrote, at the same time, to the King, who was then at Peronne, whither he dispatched a person on purpose, to present the letter to his Majesty. But his enemies, as he complains in his letter to the archbishops and bishops of France, dated 14th of December 1654, ever studious to debar him of the means of vindicating himself to the King, from the unjust aspersions which they had cast on him, sent back the gentleman without any other answer, than that no letter could be received from him, till he had first returned to the place from whence he escaped. This was as much as to say, that the only method to obtain a reconciliation with the court would be to return to that state of bondage and slavery from which he had so lately released himself, and that, when he should be closely confined in either of the prisons of Nantes or Brest, he might have free leave to write to the King whenever he should think proper. What induced the Cardinal and his friends to attempt his releasement was some certain intelligence which they had received, that the court, finding that the Pope would not accept of a resignation thus obtain'd from a prelate under strict confinement, and in direct violation of the promises which had been made, in the presence of the President de Bellievre, had given orders for removing his eminency either to Brest or to Brouage. When the news of his flight from Nantes reached Peronne, the court was thrown into great consternation, and it was determin'd, seeing that every attempt to deprive him of his title and dignity had proved ineffectual, to dispossess him of all authority in the government of his diocese. The clergy and people, in general, manifested the most

sincere joy upon receiving intelligence of his escape from prison, and the chapter of the cathedral of Paris, and the curates, performed solemn services of thanksgiving to God for the deliverance of their archbishop: and it was this circumstance which chiefly induced the court to adopt the above rash measure, by which all the privileges of the church were violated, heedless of the consequences of the people's resentment, or of that opposition, in which it might naturally have been supposed that the bishops would unite, for the defence of their common rights, and the preservation of their authority, titles, and dignities.

The chancellor Seguier and Messrs. Servien and Fouquet, the two comptrollers of the finances, who had taken upon themselves the care of watching the conduct of the clergy, during the absence of the court, held a private conference at the Louvre, where it was determined, by the advice of M. Servien, to which the other two were obliged to conform, that Messrs. l'Avocat and Chevalier, the grand vicars of Cardinal de Retz, as also some others of the canons and curates, who had manifested the most zeal in the cause of their archbishop, should be ordered to repair, immediately, to Peronne, to give an account of their conduct to the King. This step alarmed the other curates, their brethren, to such a degree, that they dared not communicate to their congregations the Cardinal's letter to them, of the 8th of August.

At the breaking up of the above conference, orders were given to the Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state, to fill up eight blanks, which had been sent him, ready sign'd, from Peronne, with the names contained in a list then delivered

delivered to him, and to send them the next morning, by an exempt, to the proper parties. In a few days afterwards, viz. on the 22d of the same month of August, four pieces, which, tho' dated from Peronne, had been fabricated at Paris, by M. Servien, were published, some of them by the King's heralds, and were afterwards stuck up in the public places, on the gates of the churches, and at the corners of the principal streets.

The first was an edict from the King, dated the 29th of August 1654, which contained, exclusive of the former orders on the subject, which had been given to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, fresh instructions to all governors and lieutenant-governors of provinces, governors of cities and towns, mayors and sheriffs, gentlemen, lords of castles, and to all others within whose districts or jurisdiction Cardinal de Retz should be found at large, to seize his person, and to convey him to some place of security, or to cause him to be so seized and secured, till, having given advice of his detention to the King, his Majesty should otherwise order: under the penalty, to all those who should know the place of his retreat, and should not reveal it, or should neglect any opportunity which might offer for seizing his person, or should refuse to assist, to the utmost of their power, in seizing and securing him, of being punished as rebels, and disturbers of the public tranquillity. The King most strictly prohibited all his officers and subjects, of whatsoever rank, dignity, or profession they might be, from harbouring, or, in any-wise, assisting or relieving him; and expressly enjoined them to hold no kind of correspondence with him, either directly or indirectly, to receive no letters, messages, or commissions.

missions from him, nor to execute any such: upon pain of being deprived, in case of disobedience to the above orders, of all p^osts, employments, and benefices which they might possess at the time, and of being incapacitated from serving his Majesty, in any station, in future.

The second and third were two letters from the King, dated from Peronne, the 22^d of the same month. One of these letters was addressed to the Marquis de PHôpital, the governor of Paris, and the other to the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs: requiring them to carry into execution, his Majesty's edict of the 20th also of the same month of August, and to take the proper steps for securing the person of Cardinal de Retz, should he be so rash as to venture to come to the city.

The fourth was an edict of the council, issued at Peronne, on the same day, the 22^d of August, by which the see of Paris was declar'd vacant, and the dean, canons, and chapter were enjoined to assemble, and to proceed to the nomination of the grand vicars, who should be empower'd to conduct the affairs of the diocese during the vacancy: this edict was notified to the parties to whom it was addressed, by two of the ushers of the chain, with a strict injunction to yield obedience to it.

As it has been impossible to obtain authentic copies of the foregoing edicts, and of the instrument of their notification to the chapter, as also of the proceedings of that assembly, in consequence, no regular account can be given of those matters, nor of the events which happened, from the time of his escape from the castle of Nantes, to that in which

which he himself acquainted the public with his arrival at Rome. All the information, therefore, which can be acquired on this subject must be collected from what his eminency has thought proper to communicate, both to his brethren, the archbishops and bishops of France, and, also, to the chapter of his cathedral, in those letters which were written at Rome, before the death of Pope Innocent the Xth, and after the election of his successor, Alexander the VIIth, and were dated on the 24th of December and 22d of April 1655. The only consequences, worthy observation, which attended the chapter's compliance with the edict, of the 22d of August, was that the court, as a reward of their obedience, conferr'd on their dean, M. de Contes, the office of a counsellor of the state, and that those who acknowledged the legality of the vacation of the see, who had obtained dispensations, appointments, and licences to administer confession, and who had been ordained by the bishops of Dol, and Coutance, the titular vicars-general of the chapter, were all advised to apply to Rome, to be confirm'd in the possession of their respective offices, and to obtain absolution; that all the other bishops of France refused to confer orders on those who had furnished themselves with certificates from these new vicars-general; that those who remained attached to the rules of the church, constantly sent to Cardinal de Retz, who was at Rome, even during the time of the conclave, for all such assistance as they required in the execution of their functions, which they received from the Abbé Lamet, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who was a relation of the Cardinal and one of his conclavists; and that the Nuncio Bagni, to whom it had been intimated that it was

was

missions from him, nor to execute any such: upon pain of being deprived, in case of disobedience to the above orders, of all posts, employments, and benefices which they might possess at the time, and of being incapacitated from serving his Majesty, in any station, in future.

The second and third were two letters from the King, dated from Peronne, the 22d of the same month. One of these letters was addressed to the Marquis de PHôpital, the governor of Paris, and the other to the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs: requiring them to carry into execution, his Majesty's edict of the 20th also of the same month of August, and to take the proper steps for securing the person of Cardinal de Retz, should he be so rash as to venture to come to the city.

The fourth was an edict of the council, issued at Peronne, on the same day, the 22d of August, by which the see of Paris was declar'd vacant, and the dean, canons, and chapter were enjoined to assemble, and to proceed to the nomination of the grand vicars, who should be empower'd to conduct the affairs of the diocese during the vacancy: this edict was notified to the parties to whom it was addressed, by two of the officers of the chain, with a strict injunction to yield obedience to it.

As it has been impossible to obtain authentic copies of the foregoing edicts, and of the instrument of their notification to the chapter, as also of the proceedings of that assembly, in consequence, no regular account can be given of those matters, nor of the events which happened, from the time of his escape from the castle of Nantes, to that in which

which he himself acquainted the public with his arrival at Rome. All the information, therefore, which can be acquired on this subject must be collected from what his eminency has thought proper to communicate, both to his brethren, the archbishops and bishops of France, and, also, to the chapter of his cathedral, in those letters which were written at Rome, before the death of Pope Innocent the Xth, and after the election of his successor, Alexander the VIIth, and were dated on the 24th of December and 22d of April 1655. The only consequences, worthy observation, which attended the chapter's compliance with the edict, of the 22d of August, was that the court, as a reward of their obedience, conferr'd on their dean, M. de Contes, the office of a counsellor of the state, and that those who acknowledged the legality of the vacation of the see, who had obtained dispensations, appointments, and licences to administer confession, and who had been ordained by the bishops of Dol, and Coutance, the titular vicars-general of the chapter, were all advised to apply to Rome, to be confirm'd in the possession of their respective offices, and to obtain absolution; that all the other bishops of France refused to confer orders on those who had furnished themselves with certificates from these new vicars-general; that those who remained attached to the rules of the church, constantly sent to Cardinal de Retz, who was at Rome, even during the time of the conclave, for all such assistance as they required in the execution of their functions, which they received from the Abbé Lamat, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who was a relation of the Cardinal and one of his conclavists; and that the Nuncio Bagni, to whom it had been intimated that it

was

was sufficient that a bishop was not approved of by the court, to be divested of his see; refused to make use of the oil which Claude Auvory, bishop of Constance, had consecrated, in the cathedral of Paris, at the request of the vicars-general of the chapter, saying that, *istud Oleum non erat sacrum*.*

Cardinal de Retz, in his letter to the archbishops and bishops, dated the 24th of December 1654, assured his brethren, that the greatest consolation which he received during his imprisonment was to hear, that they had joined their solicitations with the demands of the Pope, for his releasement from a miserable bondage; that they had declared his imprisonment to be destructive of the liberties of the Gallican church, and that, having seen, with regret, all their remonstrances ineffectual, they had, at least, sympathized with him in his misfortune. He then proceeded to represent to them:

1. That, although it seemed that no greater injury could be offered to the church, than that of imprisoning a Cardinal and an archbishop, contrary to all forms of law, both ecclesiastical and civil, he never could have imagined that those, who, for the space of twenty months that he had been under confinement, had never dared to blacken his reputation, and could lay no other crimes to his charge, than that he was archbishop of Paris, and that he possessed a dignity of which they were desirous of divesting him, would thus, immediately after it had pleased God to grant him his liberty, have defamed him in the most base and unexampld manner, and which was totally subversive of

* That oil was not holy.

that respect which all the faithful, and even Princes themselves ought to pay to the living representatives of Jesus Christ, and the ambassadors of the King of Kings.

2. That he had naturally expected, that those, who sought to dispossess him of his archbishopric, would ill brook his being in a situation to preserve that dignity, in despite of all their attempts: but he had hoped that, with whatever virulence they might pursue their designs against him, they would still have retain'd some reverence for the grandeur and sanctity of the episcopal function, and that he should not have had the grief of seeing the priesthood of Jesus Christ thus ignominiously dishonoured in a most-christian kingdom: all the people submitted to his jurisdiction having seen, with equal concern and astonishment, that the deliverance of their prelate, which, but a short time before, had been the subject of their public rejoicings, was now become the basis of a cruel proscription of his person, the most outrageous calumnies against his honour, and a scandalous profanation of his sacred dignity.

3. That he could scarcely be induced to believe, till he had received ocular proof of the fact, that an archbishop had been treated, in the very city of his diocese, and after being driven from his see, like a banditti, and a captain of a gang of robbers; and that proclamations had been stuck up in all the public places, and at the corners of all the streets, which not only dishonoured him, by the abuse and calumny which they contained, but also exposed him to every kind of outrage, by barbarous and unprecedented decrees against the life of a prince of the church,

He

He complained that, without any form of process, and without even the shadow of an accusation, his enemies had, from the first, adopted a mode of proceeding as unjust as it was inhuman, by arming all the governors of places, mayors and sheriffs of cities, gentlemen, and lords of castles against a bishop, whose sole crime was that, exercising that privilege which he derived from the laws of nature and the gospel, he had released himself from an illegal imprisonment, which the whole church had for so long a time lamented; that he had been treated as a public enemy, who endeavoured to kindle a war in the kingdom, although he was solely occupied with the design of retiring from it, in order to preserve himself from those violences to which his further stay would, inevitably, have exposed him; that every part of the kingdom had been shut against him, save the prisons and dungeons; that those, who should render him any charitable office in his misfortunes, or should even restrain themselves within the bounds of a christian-like respect for the church, their mother, had been threatened with the most rigorous punishments, and which were due only to the harbourers and accomplices of robbers; that violent hands had been laid on one of the anointed of the Lord, for the purpose of sacrificing him to the vengeance of his enemies, and, finally, that this sacrilege call'd for the most exemplary punishment.

He represented to them that, in the aforementioned proclamations, it was set forth, that he deserved to meet, with no mercy, for having ungratefully rejected the favour which it had been intended

ed to confer on him: that is to say, that he did not receive with sufficient thankfulness that new kind of favour, by which he was to be first dispossessed of the archbishopric of Paris, and afterwards doomed to end his days in the prison of Brest.

He observed that, in this same edict, of the 20th of August 1654, it was seen, that he had, by himself and his friends, given the King the strongest assurances of his determination to continue firm in that obedience and fidelity, which every subject owes to his sovereign: but that this promise, to which he would adhere whilst he lived, after the example of his family, which had ever been as distinguishable for their loyalty and attachment to their King, as any one in France, was suddenly become, in consequence of his escape from confinement, the groundwork of the most inhuman persecution ever heard of in similar circumstances. As if that no one could be faithful to the King who was not in prison, that every one who enjoyed his liberty must be a rebel, and that all the promises which had been obtain'd from his friends tended only to assure the King that he would dutifully submit to continue in prison, without making any attempt to procure his liberty.

I am therefore, continues he, to be exposed to the fury of the people, because, according to the doctrine of my enemies, I have been guilty of a scandalous deceit, although I have only availed myself of that inherent right, which every man under oppression has, to extricate himself, by all the means in his power, having violated no one promise whatsoever. Here he appealed to the first President Believre, as being witness to certain promises,

mises, which his enemies had made him, at the time of his removal from Vincennes to Nantes. He also referr'd to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who, having been so often entrusted with the care of prisoners, must have been well acquainted with the laws of imprisonment, and who would not have guarded him so closely, at the castle of Nantes, had he considered him in the light of a prisoner upon his parole, from which, even if it had been so, such a conduct would effectually have disengaged him. He further observed, that the only promise he had made was, that he would not attempt to escape on the rout from Vincennes to Nantes, although he might easily have effected it, and that the Marshal had told a person of great quality, that he was not inclined to oppose the King's authority, and that he should be obliged to comply with the orders which had been issued, for removing the Cardinal to Brest, or to Brouage, although he had before given the most positive assurances to the contrary.

The Cardinal complains, in this same letter, that, having voluntarily offered to retire from Paris, in order to remove, by his absence, the fears and apprehensions which had been conceived, respecting him, and that having laboured so effectually, even to the endangering his life, to dispose the people of Paris to a favourable reception of their sovereign, he had reaped no other fruit from his services, than the loss of his liberty; that, even during his imprisonment, his enemies had not scrupled to charge him with offences against the state, alledging that he still continued his former intrigues, and that he had renewed his correspondence with the invaders, and with the Prince of Conde, but without once troubling themselves.

selves to produce any proof against him; that they had also accused him of having exerted his endeavours, from the first day of his liberty, both by letters and by his emissaries, to procure illegal assemblies of the nobility, and to excite the people of the different provinces to a revolt, although all things continued in the same peaceable state, as before his deliverance. He adds that, not being able to render him culpable of such evils as had not yet happened, they pretended to be apprehensive of those which they alledged would arise, from his being permitted any longer to exercise his function of Archbishop of Paris, although he had quietly executed the duties of the office, by his grand vicars, during the time of his imprisonment, to the very day on which he left the castle of Nantes.

He exposes the gross artifice which had been made use of, to induce a belief that the King could not remain in safety in his capital, if he, whom God had appointed to the archbishopric, of which he could not be divested by the secular power, but by the authority of the church alone, should continue to exercise his function, even by proxy, as he had done, for the space of six months, by his grand vicars, during which time not the least disturbance whatever had arisen in Paris. From hence, he said, it was very apparent, that the sole crime which had drawn upon him this virulent and unexampled persecution from his enemies was, that he was no longer their prisoner, and that they could not now confine him in the castle of Brest.

He next complained that the dignity of a Cardinal and an Archbishop had been subjected to an infamous persecution; that his archiepiscopal palace, although a sacred dwelling, as forming a part of the cathedral,

cathedral, had been profaned by a guard of soldiers, and that he had been deprived of the revenues of his archbishopric, under a pretext that he had forfeited his title, by omitting to take the customary oath of fidelity to the king, than which nothing could be more unjust, as that omission was occasioned by the close imprisonment under which he at that time languished. To these complaints he added, that his domestics had been doomed, without any form of law, to a rigorous exile; that a violent persecution had been raised against all those, who were even suspected of being his friends, some of whom had been banished, and others imprisoned; that the houses and lands of his relations had been given up to the discretion of the soldiers, and that his enemies had, inhumane'y, extended their hatred against him even to the person of him from whom he derived his being, (Philip-Emmanuel de Gondy, Count de Joigny, Knight of the King's orders, General of the galleys, afterwards appointed Priest of the Oratory) regardless of his great age, of the services which he had rendered the kingdom, in quality of General of the Galleys, and of the retired life which he led, having had no other share in the disgraces of his son, than what arose from his tenderness, as a father, and his charity, as a priest, in recommending him to god in his prayers: they having first doomed him to a perpetual banishment from Paris, and afterwards exiled him to the distance of an hundred leagues from his own estate, to a mountainous country, covered with eternal snow, whither he was escorted by a guard of soldiers.

He represented to them the attack which had been made on their common privileges; that the sheep had taken upon themselves to sit in judgment

u. on

upon the pastors of the flock; that a few seculars had assumed the power of deposing an Archbishop, and, of declaring his see vacant, by an edict of the council, of the 22d of August 1654, thereby encroaching on the power of the Pontiff of the Lord, and laying their hands to the arch, not to support, but to destroy it; that all this had been done under the pretence of a resignation, which the King, 'twas true, had accepted, but which was, in itself, null and void, having been extorted from him during an imprisonment, of sixteen months, in the castle of Vincennes, from whence it was dated: against which he had, from the first, protested, by formally refusing, in the presence of the Nuncio Bagni, and two secretaries of state, who had been sent by the court to sound him on the subject, to grant the resignation in question, which, when at length obtain'd from him, his enemies, being conscious of its invalidity, had never dared to produce, and which the Pope, considering it as being destructive of the rights of the church, and as having been wrested from him by violence, had rejected and revoked. He further observed, that neither this resignation, nor his omitting to take the oath of fidelity had been deemed sufficient grounds for declaring his see vacant, as his grand vicars had been still permitted, as before, to govern the diocese in his name; that both the priests and people had continued to pray for him, in the public service of the church, in quality of their archbishop, seeing that the King had recognized his claim to that title, in an edict, which was addressed to his grand vicars, commanding them to make no new regulation without first communicating it to his Majesty: thereby acknowledging that

that they were empowered so to do, by their office. Hence he argued that, as his claim to the title and dignity of archbishop of Paris had been recognized, (even after he had signed the aforementioned resignation, and notwithstanding he had not taken the oath of fidelity) to the very day of his deliverance from confinement, it was plain that his escape from the castle of Nantes, was the sole circumstance on which his enemies founded their pretended right to dispossess him of his see, as it was not till after that event that a new kind of council, composed of Marshals of France, and ministers of state, who had been substituted in the room of the Pope and the bishops of the kingdom, had assembled at Peronne, on the 22d of August, and declared his see vacant.

He then pointed out the great difference between the canons of that council and those of the church: the latter ordaining that, whenever it shall have pleased God to break asunder the bonds of a bishop under confinement, he shall immediately re-assume the exercise of his authority over his diocese; whereas those of the council of Peronne directed, that a bishop, who, during his confinement, had governed his church, through the intervention of his grand vicars, should instantly lose that right, upon his restoration to liberty: his church thus becoming captive from the moment in which he should acquire his freedom, from having been free during the whole term of his captivity.

He added that it was, possibly, in this same council that a canon had been made, which, during his imprisonment, had been quoted to the Nuncio Bagni, in justification of the measures lately adopted, according

according to which the court was empower'd to remove a bishop from his see at its pleasure; that, in order to establish these laws, an attempt was, at first, made to intimidate such of the nobility, and other persons of rank, as were in his interest, but, it having been found that threats had no effect upon them, they, together with some of the canons and curates of the church of Paris, were ordered to repair to court, in order to justify their conduct; that advantage had been taken of the absence of these persons, to communicate to the chapter of the church of Paris the abovementioned edict, declaring his see vacant, and enjoining them to proceed, within the course of a week, to the election of vicars-general, who should be empowered to conduct the affairs of the diocese under the sole authority of the chapter; that neither the absence of five of the most zealous members of that body, the menaces which had been used to some, the promises which had been made to others, nor the fear of losing their privileges, with which the chapter had been threatened, could prevent their still persisting to recognize him for their archbishop, and refusing to acknowledge his see to be vacant, they having resolved to petition the King, to permit his return, and that of his grand vicars, whose absence they did not deem sufficient grounds to justify their intermeddling in the government of the diocese.

Cardinal de Retz further express'd to them, in this letter, on the one hand, the grief which he had felt, on hearing that the chapter, yielding at length to force, and unable to bear up against the impending storm, had taken upon themselves to nominate grand vicars, to govern his diocese, which,
but

but a very short time before, they had declar'd was not vacant; and, on the other, his satisfaction, in learning that this nomination had been resolv'd on by a majority of four voices only, and was, consequently, rendered invalid, by the suffrages of those who were illegally withheld from attending on the occasion. He represented to them the bad consequences which would inevitably arise from this attack on his jurisdiction, whereby all the laws of the church were so openly violated, and, also, from the measures then carrying on, by which it was apparently intended to reduce the clergy and bishops to the condition merely of vicars to the council of state, removeable at the pleasure of a favourite.

He concluded his letter with conjuring his brethren to reflect on the state of the church of Paris, and on the banishment of his grand vicars, and of several other canons and curates, who had been exiled to different provinces, and remote cities, purposely that their fate might strike a terror into the rest: which design had proved so successful, as to deter them from reading, in their assembly, the letter which he had address'd to them. He added, that he expected from them, not tears and sighs alone, but a vigorous exertion of all their efforts, in support of the interests of the church, telling them, that God would not be satisfied with a mute and inactive zeal, from those whom he had ordained his chief ministers on earth; recalling to their remembrance what St. Martin formerly said to an emperor, and Constantine to the bishops of his time, as also what steps had been taken by the
the

the assembly [of the clergy] in 1645, * in favour of the bishop of Leon, who had been oppressed by a minister, and divested of his see, by a sentence which was, apparently, conformable to the laws of the church, but which, in fact, was grounded solely on a false accusation of high-treason.

Finally, he acquainted them with his arrival, after surmounting various obstacles, at the residence of the Prince of the Apostles: the sure asylum of all bishops under persecution; that, by embarking in a small fishing vessel, navigated by five hands only, he had deprived his persecutors of every pretext, for accusing him of corresponding with the enemies of the state, and that the rout which he afterwards took, sufficiently justified his passing through the territories of Spain, and fully evinc'd the falsehood of what had been asserted, in one of the proclamations issued against him, that he had been at Madrid, to make a tender of the surrendry of Belle-Isle, and that he had conferred with certain persons, whom he never saw in his life. He informed them of the flattering marks of friendship and affection, with which the Pope and the Cardinals had honoured him, having recognized his claim to the title and dignity of archbishop of Paris, and having, also, conferred upon him the Pallium, in that quality: assuring them that he trusted that he should continue in peace in the midst of the tempest, addressing himself to God in those words of David: *In umbra alarum tuarum sperabo, donec transeat iniquitas.*

* The original says, "in 1655:" but this is, evidently, an error, as this letter was dated in 1654. *Vide*, also, page 2. of this volume.

The conduct of the chapter of Paris, in nominating their dean, M. de Contes, and some of the other members of their body, to take upon themselves the government of the diocese, in quality of their vicars-general, during the time, not of a real, but of what Peter de Marca, the archbishop of Thoulouse, then, and subsequently stiled a quasi vacancy: this conduct, I say, caused a schism in the church of Paris as scandalous, as it was publicly avowed and supported by the court: the most pious and learned persons, and those who were the most deeply versed in the laws of the church having refused to acknowledge the authority of these vicars-general of the chapter. The abovemention'd Peter de Marca was the most inveterate, and, on account of his abilities, the most dangerous of all Cardinal de Retz's enemies: as will be fully seen in the sequel.

The scandal caused by this schism, which desolated the church of Paris, was considerably increased by the measures adopted by the illegally appointed vicars-general of the chapter, who, without even the least plea of necessity, and in direct violation of all the canons of the church, and all the regulations of the clergy, had introduced two bishops from other dioceses, Denis-Anthony Cochon, bishop of Dol, and Claud Auvry, bishop of Coutances, to ordain priests in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace, and to consecrate the oils in the cathedral of Paris. This innovation was, from the first, and has since been so universally condemned, both by the legal grand vicars of Cardinal de Retz, and also by the whole body of the bishops, assembled in convocation; that, on the one hand, those who had been ordained by the two bishops abovemention'd

abovemention'd were, in consequence, obliged to provide themselves with absolutions from the court of Rome ; and, on the other, that in the year 1655 none of the clergy of the diocese came, as had been always customary, to Paris, to receive the consecrated oils, (they having either made a reserve of what they had received in the former year, or else having supplied themselves from the neighbouring dioceses) and that the Nuncio Bagni refused to make use of those oils, alledging that they had been unlawfully consecrated, as already mentioned.

After the publication of the above long and famous letter, from Cardinal de Retz to the archbishops and bishops of France, nothing further appeared, either from him or from the court, for some time. This was occasion'd by his being engaged in attending the conclave, which was then sitting, and which was opened on the 7th of January 1655, and did not break up till the 7th of April following, when Cardinal Fabio Chigi was elected Pope, and assumed the title of Alexander the VIIth.

But a courier, whose name was Marquin, who had been dispatched to M. de Lyonne, returned to Paris, on the 15th of April, in the morning (which was the fifteenth day from the time of his setting out for Rome) with the news of the Pope's election. M. de Lyonne was at this time entrusted with the chief management of the King's concerns at the court of Rome, in quality of envoy extraordinary to the Princes of Italy, under which title, at his own particular request, all those letters were addressed to him which he received from the Count de Brienne, the secretary of state for foreign af-

fairs. Immediately upon the courier's arrival at Paris, he received instructions to repair to Vincennes, where the court then was; (the author of these memoirs delivered to him an order on the treasury for two thousand livres, in consideration of his late journey) and, it being apprehended that the newly-elected Pope might pursue the same steps as had been adopted by his predecessor, in favour of Cardinal de Retz, in whose person he pretended that the church and the sacred college were equally injured, a fresh edict against his eminency was published, on the 13th of May 1655, and was stuck up in different parts of the city of Paris, being dated, at Vincennes, on the 16th of the preceding month, which was the day after the arrival of the courier. By this edict, the King declared that, having already made the court of Rome acquainted with the bad conduct of that Cardinal, and being well informed of the correspondence and intrigues which he still continued to carry on with the avowed enemies of his crown, his Majesty had, till such time as a regular process could be instituted against him, given the necessary orders, to prevent the effects of his pernicious designs. But, as some persons, feigning to be ignorant of the Cardinal's evil intentions, and of the crimes laid to his charge, the whole of which it was impossible to come at the knowledge of at that time, might still continue their connection with him, and suffer themselves to be blinded by his artifices, his Majesty thereby prohibited all his subjects in general, of whatever quality or condition they might be, whether ecclesiastics or others, under any manner of pretext, to hold the least commerce or correspondence

respondence with him, by letter or otherwise: and commanded all such persons, as might, at that time, be in his retinue, to quit him, and to return to France, immediately upon becoming acquainted with the particulars of this edict. The whole upon pain of being proceeded against, as rebels, partaking in his crimes, and disturbers of the public tranquillity. And, in order to compel such of the subjects of France as were then at Rome, and were attached to the interests of Cardinal de Retz, to quit that city, M. de Lyonne had brought with him a considerable number of blanks, signed by the Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state, (the author of these memoirs tacked them to the instructions which had been given to M. de L. before his departure) to be filled up, and made use of conformably to the directions which he had received, on that head, from the court.

Some time after the publication of this edict, a letter appeared from Cardinal de Retz, dated at Rome 22d of May, and addressed to the dean, canons, and chapter of his church, of which a number of printed copies were distributed, whereby the public was made acquainted with the following particulars:

1. That the parties whom he address'd had manifested their esteem and affection for him, by the obliging answer which they had returned to his letter, of the 8th of August 1654, and by the public thanksgivings which they had offered up to God, for his deliverance.

2. That he assured them, that, amongst all the difficulties and dangers which he had since encountered, nothing had given him so sensible a concern, as the intelligence which he had received, of the

measures which had been adopted against them, with the view of detaching them from his interests, and of compelling them to abandon him, by issuing forced and involuntary decrees, whose just rights and authority they had supported with so much zeal and constancy: that the happy termination of his voyages and difficulties could not obliterate the remembrance of the methods which had been used to force them to submission, and that neither the favourable reception which he had met with from Innocent the Xth, the marks of kindness and affection with which that Pope had been pleased to honour his integrity, in his state of exile, nor the apostolic protection which his Holiness had promised him, with so much tenderness and generosity, could totally dispel the anxiety which he had felt, for six months past, for the deplorable condition to which that company was reduced.

3. That he had learnt, with great concern, that those, who, since his restoration to liberty, had imputed to them, as a crime, their zeal for his interests, had even proceeded so far as to accuse them, in a public and defamatory proclamation, of having been the promoters of certain transactions, in the capital of the kingdom, which were of a scandalous nature, and injurious to his Majesty's authority, and which accusation was founded, solely, on the circumstance of their having manifested, by one of the canticles of the church, their joy and gratitude to God, for his deliverance, which they had often made the subject of their prayers; and that he had further been informed, that, by the above conduct, they had irritated their enemies to so great a degree, that they

they from thence, had taken occasion to treat them as rebels and disturbers of the public peace: having made this the pretext for ordering his grand vicars, and some others of their company, to repair to court, pretendedly for the purpose of compelling them to give an account of their conduct: but, in fact, with the view of exposing them to a variety of outrages, insults and mockeries, and of intimidating them, if possible, by their menaces.

4. That what had principally affected him was, the intelligence which he had received, that this persecution against his grand vicars, and some others of their brethren, had proved a prelude only, to a more important attack, which was afterwards made on the whole company: the intent of banishing those persons having been, thereby, to render the chapter less capable of opposing the designs which were in agitation, and, also, to take the opportunity, of the absence of those members, to communicate to that company an edict, dated on the 22d of August 1654, by which certain secular persons, usurping the authority of the church, had declared his see vacant, and enjoined the chapter, in consequence of this pretended vacancy, to elect, within the course of a week, other grand vicars, who should be empowered to govern the diocese, in the room of those whom he had appointed; threatening that, in case of their refusal, such nomination should be made without their intervention.

5. That this edict had been delivered to the chapter by two officers of justice, who, at the same time, acquainted the assembly, that they had received express orders to require from them an

implicit obedience thereto : and, as the first impressions of fear and consternation are ever the most powerful, these officers insisted that the assembly should proceed to an immediate deliberation ; declaring their resolution not to quit the place till this was complied with.

6. That he (Cardinal de Retz) had, in this letter, resumed the arguments which the public had already seen, in that of the 24th of December 1654, addressed to the archbishops and bishops of France, respecting the different cases, in which a chapter may assume the government of a diocese, in the absence of the bishop of the see, who, although residing in distant parts, unless he chance to be detained a prisoner among the infidels, may still continue to exercise his authority over his diocese, by his grand vicars ; and that this was exemplified in the case of St. Cyprien, bishop of Carthage, who, having withdrawn himself, to avoid exciting the fury of the infidels against his flock, appointed grand vicars, to govern his church, in his name ; as also in the instances of Cardinal de Richelieu, at that time bishop of Lucon, and M. de Sourdis, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who, having both retir'd to Avignon, continued, nevertheless, to govern their respective dioceses, partly in their own names, by the mandates which they issued from time to time, and partly by their grand vicars.

7. That he had also been much grieved to learn that there had been found two bishops so regardless of the honour of their characters, and so devoted to the violent intentions of his enemies, as to have undertaken to confer the sacred orders of priesthood in his church, or rather to profane them, by an unprecedented encroachment of his rights : it being
one

one of the fundamental principles of ecclesiastical polity, that every bishop has an exclusive authority to communicate the sacerdotal function of Jesus Christ to those committed to his care, and that any prelate, illegally assuming this power in the diocese of another, thereby renders himself liable to be deprived of his office and dignity, by violating the sacred union of episcopacy, established by the ordinances of all the ancient councils, which that of Trent had renewed and confirmed.

Finally; That having reason to believe that those grand vicars, appointed by him, were still at Paris, whither the King had recalled them, to exercise their functions, under his (the Cardinal's) authority, he had sent them the bull, for the jubilee which the Pope had granted, in consequence of his exaltation to the pontificate, requiring them to cause it to be published in the usual form : and, in case that they should not have returned to the city at the time, that he had given orders for its being delivered to Messrs. Chassebras and de Hondene, doctors of the Sorbonne, and senior curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin, to be disposed of conformably to his directions, and according to the custom of the diocese, in the absence of Messrs. l'Avocat and Chevalier, his grand vicars.

The senior curate of St. Severin having received an order from the King, to repair immediately to court, M. de Chassebras, to whom a similar order had been sent, judged that he neither ought nor could pay obedience to it, without betraying the interests of Cardinal de Retz, by whom he had been employed to put a stop to the late encroachments of the chapter upon his jurisdiction. Having therefore previously committed the care and manage-

ment of his parish, of the Magdeleine, to M. Barré, a doctor of the Sorbonne, (afterwards dean of the church of Orleans, as also grand vicar and official to Cardinal Coassin, bishop of that diocese) he withdrew himself, and, in order to provide for the safety of his person, in the exercise of his functions of grand vicar, he fix'd on the steeple of the church of St. John en Greve for the place of his retreat, as a secret and secure asylum from all the attempts of the court, during his absence from his parish and his customary residence. As he still continued to govern the diocese, (causing the various certificates and other instruments, for which application was made to him from time to time, to be laid on the altar of the church of the Magdeleine, whilst those who had occasion to apply to him in such cases, took the same method to acquaint him with their wants) the court pursued, with the utmost rigour, a criminal prosecution which had been instituted against him in the Chatelet, where, after he had been publicly cited, on three several days, before the gate of his own church, to make his appearance, it was adjudg'd that the forfeitures and penalties of contumacy were duly incurred, in consequence of which he was declared a rebel, and his benefices vacant and impetrable. During this time he had repeated interviews with those persons who corresponded with Cardinal de Retz, and with such of his friends as remained concealed in Paris, for which purpose he frequently left his hiding-place, clad in a secular habit, and in other disguises.

Cardinal de Retz, besides the aforementioned letter, of the 22d of May 1655, wherein he acquaints the chapter with his having appointed the senior
curates

curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin to be his grand vicars, published another, dated on the 28th of June following, and addressed to the dean, canons, and chapter of his cathedral, and to all the curates and ecclesiastics, and to the faithful, in general, under his jurisdiction : informing them that, in order to avoid exposing his diocese to those evils, into which it might be precipitated through the want of legal government, he had nominated the senior curates of those two churches, to take upon themselves the management of affairs under his authority, and to exercise the same powers as had been possessed by his other grand vicars, whose absence rendered them incapable of executing the duties of their functions. He further represented to them, that they were bound to pay no obedience, in future, to any other spiritual authority, than his, which, alone was legal and approved by God and the church ; that those who should seek, elsewhere than under his guidance, and that of the persons commissioned by him, the grace which saveth, would find, instead thereof, their condemnation ; that those who should, similarly, enter upon the holy office of the priesthood would enthrall themselves and become abominable in the sight of God, instead of acquiring the power of delivering and sanctifying others ; and that those, to whom they might pretend to communicate the authority to absolve sinners from their offences would not, in anywise, become invested with that privilege, and would fatally deceive all such persons as should put themselves under their conduct ; that neither the grants of licences of marriage, nor the administration of religious vows would be valid, or conformable to the canons ; finally, that any one, unauthorized by him,

who should attempt to intermeddle in the government of his diocese would be guilty of a horrible sacrilege, and a detestable innovation: but that he hoped that no such evils would arise, and trusted that, after thus publicly protesting against an encroachment upon his authority, which was condemned by the holy Roman church, by the councils, by all the free universities, by all those who had the love of God in their hearts, and by him, (to whom, alone, the government of the church of Paris was committed,) he should find the chapter of the metropolis of his diocese, whose zeal for the church he had already experienced, readily disposed, by their example, to oblige the rest to recognize his jurisdiction, in the persons of the senior curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin, his grand vicars; and that his flock, being thus made acquainted with the intentions of their only legal pastor, would be strictly on their guard against submitting themselves, in future, to the guidance of any other shepherd, whereby they would fatally endanger that spiritual welfare which he earnestly wish'd might be granted them.

This piece was followed by another, from M. de Chassebras, dated on the 28th of July 1655, and was stuck up on the gates of the churches. It was addressed to the curates, fraternities, religious houses, monasteries, and to all the regular priests of the diocese; acquainting them that, as Cardinal de Retz had been pleased to entrust the management of the affairs of the diocese to his care, during the absence of his grand vicars, he considered himself as being obligated to accept of the charge, and not, like a mercenary pastor, to abandon the flock, lest he should incur the censure which the church had de-
nounced

nounced against all such ecclesiastics, and others, who should desert their bishop, under pretence of any accusation against him, until he should be duely convicted by the sentence of the law, and that, as Jesus Christ had warned him to fear him, rather, who killed the soul, than those who could hurt the body, he should, therefore, be apprehensive of rendering himself culpable of a horrible indiscretion, in the sight of God, should he relinquish the government of the diocese, which would, in consequence exhibit a scene of the utmost disorder and confusion. He added that, for these reasons, not deeming himself guilty of any breach, either of the respect due to the magistrates, or of the perfect obedience which he owed to the King, by causing the orders, issued by Cardinal de Retz, for the government of his diocese, to be carried into execution, he had thought it requisite to acquaint them with his eminency's will, as it was expressed in his mandate. Both these mandates, printed on the same sheet of paper, were stuck up on the gates of the different churches, both in the city and suburbs of Paris, on the morning of the 15th of August, being the feast of the Assumption. This time had been particularly fixed on for the purpose, the people being then assembled in the churches, to perform their devotions, and in the streets, to see the solemn procession, which is annually made on that day, and at which the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and the city-corporation, always attend.

The absence of the senior curate of St. Severin, who was engag'd in attending the court, whither he had received orders to repair, and who had been prohibited, by the Chancellor Seguier, in the King's name, from
executing

cuting any of the functions of his office, of grand vicar of the diocese of Paris; the retreat of M. de Chassebras to a secret, but secure asylum, and the strict and rigorous search which was made after him; all these circumstances, I say, caused the diocese to be, in a manner, abandoned by those to whom the government of it had been entrusted: seeing that M. de Chassebras could not, without discovering himself, hold any communication with the curates, who, moreover, were not permitted to publish the mandates, which he found it necessary to address to them, from time to time, in order that those persons, who were subjected to the jurisdiction of Cardinal de Retz, might be made acquainted with their contents. He had, therefore, no other means left of communicating to them the intentions of their pastor, than by procuring all the requisite orders and instructions to the curates, and to the superiors of the different communities, both secular and regular, to be fixed up, during the night, on the gates of the churches and in the streets, instead of sending them, as he would have done at another time, directly to the parties to whom they were addressed.

At this time, certain trusty persons were employed, who went about the streets during the night, with printed papers at their backs, covered with paste, which they fixed up against the gates of the churches, the corners of the streets, and in the public squares, by placing themselves with their backs against the different edifices; which being effected, they retired behind the churches and houses, for a short time; none of those who chanced to pass by during the interval being able to form any judgment of what business they were about.

Thus,

Thus, nothing was now to be seen but acts, ordinances and mandates, printed and fixed up in the most public parts of the city, and which were, by these means, notified to those, to whom they ought to have been openly sent, and communicated in the customary manner.

The first act which was published in this manner, although it had, before, been communicated, by Philip Marcourt, a priest of the diocese of Meaux, to Dominic Segulier, bishop of that diocese, as senior bishop of the province of Paris, and a canon of the cathedral of that city) was that, by which M. de Chassebras (who had received intelligence that that prelate had engaged to convoke an assembly of the clergy of the province of Paris, by a different authority than that of Cardinal de Retz, and that it was intended, after first going through a mock form of appearing at the archiepiscopal palace, to proceed to the election of the deputies of the province, to be sent to the general assembly of the clergy of France) conjured, in the first place, all the bishops of the province to unite in their endeavours, to obtain the King's promise for the safety of his person, in order that he might be enabled to attend the provincial assembly, and to occupy that seat therein, to which he was entitled both by order and custom; or, in case they should deem it more proper to wait, till the general assembly of all the three [dioceses of Chartres, Meaux, and Orleans] should meet, to attend thereat, and to solicit the concurrence of that body in the above application to his Majesty. He then protested, beforehand, both against every resolution which should be taken in the provincial assembly, should it be convoked, and, also, against all the proceedings of the general assembly of the clergy of
of

of France. at which the deputies from the pretended convocation of the three dioceses, of Chartres, Meaux, and Orleans should attend.

The second was an ordinance of Cardinal de Retz, dated the 25th of August 1675, and addrested to M. de Chassebras, his grand vicar; enjoining him, in his name, to inform Anthony-Denis Cochon, bishop of Dole, and Claude Auvry, bishop of Coutance, as also all those under his jurisdiction, that they had incurred the penalties denounced by the sacred canons against those who confer the order of priesthood in any district out of their jurisdiction, and that he, therefore, prohibited them from executing any kind of ecclesiastical function in his diocese, even those of celebrating mass, and performing divine service.

The third and fourth, printed on the same sheet, were notices from M. de Chassebras to the two above-mentioned bishops, acquainting them that they had subjected themselves to the penalties specified in the canons of the church, viz. the bishop of Coutance, in having consecrated the oils, and the bishop of Dole, in having conferred holy orders in the cathedral of Paris, without the consent, either of the archbishop of that see, or his grand vicars: and that, by the express orders of that prelate, he, thereby, forbade them the exercise of every kind of ecclesiastical duty in his diocese, not excepting, even, the celebration of the mass, and the performance of divine service; enjoining the senior priest, neither suspended nor excommunicated, to notify to them this declaration, as also the act by which he gave information thereof to the dean, canons, and chapter of the cathedral of Paris, and likewise to the curates and to the several communities, both secular and regular,

as

as well of the city as of the diocese, to whom he sent copies of all the above pieces.

The fifth, which was dated on the 8th of September 1655, contained M. de Chassebras's first admonitory letter, addressed to all the faithful of the diocese, acquainting them :

1. That he had flattered himself, that the respect and deference which, as soon as he was invested with the government of the diocese, he had manifested for the King, in the person of the Chancellor, and the assurances which he had given him (the Chancellor) that he would not take any step, in the execution of his office, which should be repugnant to his loyalty, as a subject, or prejudicial to the King's service, would have been sufficient to have proved the purity of his intentions at the entering on the ecclesiastical function, and that he had no other view, than that of employing himself in watching over the welfare of the souls committed to his care, and in dispelling the anxiety of scruples which, with too much reason, had arisen in the minds of many, on occasion of the usurpation of a sacred power, and which was totally incommunicable but by legal authority.

2. That, for this purpose, as soon as the senior curate of St. Severin, a doctor of the Sorbonne, his colleague in the vicarship, had received the King's orders to repair to court, he, recalling to mind the measures which had been carried into execution against the former grand vicars, who were driven from the diocese and banished, after they had yielded obedience to a similar order, determined, from a motive of respect to the King, to withdraw himself from his parochial abode, in order to avoid receiving a
like

like injunction with that which had been sent to the curate of St. Severin, and, also, that both of them might not be obliged to abandon, at the same time, the care of one of the first churches in the world, the charge of which had been entrusted to them by God himself, and which they even could not desert, without offending against their own consciences, and betraying the interests of Jesus Christ : seeing, moreover, that it was sufficient, in order to testify that deference to the King, which all obedient subjects are bound to pay to his orders, in every case where such orders are not incompatible with those of God, that one of them only should repair to court, to learn what it was that his Majesty required of them.

3. That this submission had served only to shew, that those, who, by surprize, had obtained these orders from the King, had determined to overthrow the whole system of episcopacy, and to annihilate the vicars-general spiritual jurisdiction, which they derived from divine authority, and on which whoever should make any encroachment, would be guilty of waging war with God himself ; that all the attempts of his colleague in the office of vicar general, to procure admission to the King, in order to acquaint him with the true state of the church of Paris, and to lay before him their just complaints of the oppression which had been of late exercised over it had proved ineffectual, he having been detained, for near two months, in one of the cities on the frontiers, for which no other reason was alledged, than that it had been determined not to permit him to execute the duties of his charge, nor to obey the orders of his archbishop, in a function merely spiritual ; that three or four infamous libels had been published, by the same persons, which merited only the

the contempt and abhorrence of every man of probity, learning and piety, as being injurious to the episcopal dignity, disgraceful to the church, and replete, not only with calumnies against the honour and innocence of a cardinal and an archbishop, but, also, with various heretical and schismatical maxims, militating against the authority of the successors of the apostles; and that the sacrilegious hands of lay judges had been employed, with a violence beyond example, in tearing out of the ecclesiastical registers the commission which had been granted to the grand vicars of the church of Paris, by the cardinal-archbishop of that see: as if, by this means, they could have rooted out of the heart of the church that indispensable obligation, of obedience to the archbishop and his grand vicars, and could have restrained and degraded the latter from the exercise of their functions.

4. That all the curates had been prohibited from receiving, or obeying any order from Cardinal de Retz, as if it had been a crime in a bishop to make such spiritual regulations, as he should judge necessary for the good government of his diocese, of which the pope and the whole church had recognized him for the sole and lawful pastor; that the mandates, which he had caused to be affixed in the different parts of the city, had been torn down, with a violence before unheard of; that they (the curates) had been subjected to the indignity of having their houses searched, and their papers ransacked, without any regard to the consideration that, from the nature of their office, they might have some which must be very unfit for public inspection, as relating to cases of conscience; and that, to complete the injurious treatment

ment which they had received, the vicars of their several parishes had been examined and interrogated, for the purpose of procuring evidence against them.

5. That, although even calumny itself had not dared to charge him with any act, in the exercise of his function, by which the King's service could, in the smallest degree, be prejudiced, or which tended to cast the least imputation on his conduct, yet, nevertheless, orders had been issued for his personal appearance, and for committing him to close custody, and that, by a proceeding which would scarcely have been credited, had not thousands been witnesses of it, the decrees against him had been proclaimed by sound of trumpet, not only in the publick streets of the city, but, also, even before the gates of the Magdeleine church, where he was accustomed to preach the word of God, and to administer the mysterious sacrament of the eucharist, as if he had been a malefactor, pursued by the hue and cry of justice, and who was deemed deserving of being proceeded against in so ignominious a manner.

6. That, in submitting any longer to these injuries, his patience would degenerate into cowardice, and his silence would become a horrible prevarication, and that he should render himself unworthy of the ministry with which he had been invested, if he neglected to defend the honour of the church, of episcopacy, of his function, and his own reputation, by those methods which were pointed out to him by Jesus Christ.

7. That, although he should have been justified in availing himself from the first, of those means which the councils, the canons, and the usages of the church have specified, as remedies against all similar violences, yet, in order to manifest, even to

to a degree beyond what could have been expected from him, after being thus injuriously treated, his strict obedience to that precept of the gospel, by which he was enjoined charitably to bear with sinners, untill they should become incorrigible; he therefore exhorted those, who, under the sacred name of his Majesty, had excited so unjust and so violent a persecution against the church and his person, to make such a public reparation of their enormous crime, as might render them fit objects of the mercy of heaven, and the intercession of the church: acquainting them that, if, disregarding this his first letter of admonition, they should still persist in oppressing the church, in violating its authority, and in persecuting its ministers, he should have recourse to those methods which were prescribed by the church and the canons, in all similar cases.

The sixth was a second admonitory letter, from M. de Chassebras, dated in the month of October 1655, and addressed, as the former had been, to the faithful of the diocese of Paris; by which, after complaining that his patience and moderation had served only to irritate still more those who persecuted the church, to continue their outrages, even to the causing his former paternal and charitable admonition to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, he once more exhorted them, together with their accomplices, before he delivered them over to the power of Satan, to desist from those persecutions which they excited, in the name of the King, (who was too just and pious to give any countenance to such disorders) against Cardinal de Retz, archbishop of Paris, against the episcopal order, and against his person. This letter was
stuck

stuck up, according to the orders contained therein, on the doors of the cathedral of Paris, and on the different gates, both of the city and suburbs.

At the commencement of the year 1655, and previous to the appearance of the letter from Cardinal de Retz, dated at Rome the 24th of December 1654, and addressed to the archbishops and bishops of France, M. de Guenegaud, one of the secretaries of state, had delivered to the abbots de Mormielle and de Villars, the agents general of the clergy, to be by them sent to the several prelates of the kingdom, the King's edict, relative to the intended convocation of a general assembly of the clergy. By this edict, his Majesty granted them permission to hold their separate assemblies, each in his particular diocese, and the provincial meetings in each province, for the purpose of nominating two deputies from each of the orders of the clergy, to attend at the general assembly, which, as usual, was appointed to be convened in the city of Paris, on the 25th of May 1655.

But, immediately on the publication of the abovementioned letter, the court became apprehensive that the general assembly might, thereby, be induced to undertake the defence of the episcopal function, and to prohibit any chapter from assuming the government of a diocese, in any case similar to that, in which the chapter of Paris had taken upon itself that authority. For this reason, every engine was set in motion, to procure such deputies to be chosen, as were in the interests of the court, in order, if possible, to render ineffectual the zeal and spirited opposition of those, who had
declared

declared themselves in favour of the church and of episcopacy, and to prevent any resolutions being taken in the assembly which might thwart the designs, then in hand, of totally divesting Cardinal de Retz of his title and authority as archbishop of Paris. The Marthal de la Meilleraye, who commanded, in quality of lieutenant-general, in the province of Brittany, having forced himself into the assembly of the clergy of the diocese of Nantes, positively enjoined the President M. de Normand, (the grand vicar of Gabriel de Beauveau, bishop of Nantes, and official of the diocese) to chuse the person whom he should name to him, to go as deputy to the provincial assembly, which was to meet at Tours.

The appointment of the senior curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin, to whom Cardinal de Retz had given authority to regulate the affairs of his diocese, in the absence of his grand vicars, who had been exiled by the court; the publication of the Cardinal's letter, to the chapter of the church of Paris, dated the 22d of May 1655; the zeal and resolution manifested by M. de Chassebras, (the senior curate of the Magdeleine) at his entrance upon the execution of his office, and subsequently, by the spirited ordinances which appeared in his name;—all these circumstances, I say, conspired to oblige the court to put off the meeting of the general assembly of the clergy, first, from the 25th of May to the 25th of August, and afterwards, from the 25th of August to the 25th of October, and to dispatch fresh notices to the agents general, to be communicated by them to the archbishops and bishops, and to all those who had been already

dy nominated as deputies to the aforesaid assembly.

The court had not yet been able to dive into the intentions of the newly elected Pope, nor to discover whether he was disposed to follow the example of his predecessor, (who had so openly testified, both during the imprisonment of Cardinal de Retz, and after his arrival at Rome, his resentment of the injury which the church and the sacred college had sustained, in the person of a cardinal and an archbishop,) and whether he might not be inclined to engage the bishops of France, assembled in convocation, to unite with him in demanding and obtaining a reparation of the outrage. However, it was hoped that Servien might be able to avail himself of some connections, which had subsisted between him and the Pope, during the time that the latter resided, in quality of Nuncio, at Cologne, and also at Munster, whither he had been sent to attend the congress which was held at that place, for the purpose of negotiating a peace: but in this the court was deceived, as the see of Rome was highly offended that the above peace had been concluded, without the participation of the Nuncio Chighi, and that, in the treaty, no mention had been made of the Pope's mediation, but solely of that of the republic of Venice. This peace the Pope declared to be an infamous peace, (*pacem pudendam*) in the treaty of which his Nuncio would never have suffered his name to have been inserted, both on account of the number of archbishops and bishops who were, thereby, secularized, and, also, as the Emperor and the empire had yielded up to the Protestant princes the privilege of nominating, alternatively with the catho-
lics,

lics, the bishops of the several sees of Magdebourg, Verden, Minden, and Osnabrug.

The difficulty of convoking the assembly of the province of Paris, for the purpose of electing deputies, without whom no business could be entered on, by the general assembly, in the above province, but what would be liable to be protested against, was another principal reason for the court's thus prohibiting the meeting of that assembly.

The bishops of Chartres and Orleans were not at all inclined to acknowledge the authority of the grand vicars appointed by the chapter of the church of Paris. That assembly had declared, at the time of nominating them, that it was in consequence of the absence of those who had been appointed by their archbishop, that they had taken upon themselves the government of his diocese: but, that pretext having been removed, by the new commission granted by that prelate to the senior curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin, they (the chapter) had relinquish'd all claim to the further exercise of that authority ever since the month of April. A contest had even arisen, between the bishops of Meaux and Chartres, for the right of presiding in the provincial assembly. The bishop of Meaux claimed it as his due, as being the senior, respecting the time of his consecration, citing, in support of his pretensions, the decision of Pope Gregory the XIIIth, in a similar dispute, which had happened in the assembly of the clergy of the province of Rouen, in 1581, in favour of the bishop of Seez, against the bishop of Bayeux, the dean of the bishops of that province. The bishop of Chartres, on the other

Vol. III. E hand,

hand, quoted the bull by which the bishopric of Paris was converted into an archbishopric, and also by which the bishops of Chartres were confirmed in their title of deans of the province of Sens, and their right of taking place of all the other bishops of the province. But this contest was, at length, adjusted, at an interview between the two prelates, at Gromveil, near Chartres, a country seat belonging to M. de Ligny, the son of a sister of the Chancellor Seguier, and of the bishop of Meaux.

The affair of Cardinal de Retz's imprisonment having excited a great commotion, not only in the diocese and province of Paris, but also amongst the clergy in general, the court used every precaution to prevent, or, at least, to shelter themselves from the effects of those measures, which they must naturally have expected would, in consequence, be adopted, particularly in the diocese of Paris. The court judged it very requisite that the King should be present in Paris, at the time of the meeting of the general assembly, in order, on the one hand, with the greater certainty, to secure the suffrages of the deputies, and to prevent the assembly from taking any resolutions, which might endanger, or prove contrary to what Cardinal Mazarin represented to the King to be his Majesty's and the state's real interests; and, on the other, to render more difficult the communication of Cardinal de Retz with the assembly, and the access of his agents to the deputies, and also to defeat the intentions, which his friends and the most zealous and pious amongst the bishops might entertain of vindicating the honour of their function and the rights of episcopacy, which had been attacked and
violated

violated in the person of Cardinal de Retz. But the King, being at that time upon the frontiers, could not return to Paris till the campaign in Flanders should be finished.

For this reason, the secretaries of state were ordered to write letters to all the archbishops and bishops of the provinces in their respective departments, pointing out to them those persons whom the court was desirous should be sent as deputies to the general assembly: and, without mentioning what passed, in consequence, in the other provinces, it will be sufficient to observe, that the archbishop of Sens was required to cause the bishop of Nevers (a prelate of small estimation and merit) and the Abbé de Harlay Cely, born at Constantinople, (where the Baron or Count de Cely had resided, in quality of ambassador from the court of France, several years) to be chosen deputies of the province: permitting him, as a special favour, to chuse whatever person should be most agreeable to him, from the second order of the clergy, to compleat the deputation from that see. With this requisition the archbishop complied, being induced thereto both by the refusal of the bishop of Troyes to accept of the office of one of the deputies, and, also, by the assurances which the Abbé de Cely had given him, of his firm resolution to adhere strictly to his duty, and to support, to the utmost of his power, the interests of the church. The Abbé de Cely was, moreover, indebted to the house of De Retz, (of which he rented certain lands at Joigni) for the preservation of the Cely estate in his family; and was, also, the god-son of Roger, Duke de Bellegarde, the uncle, by the

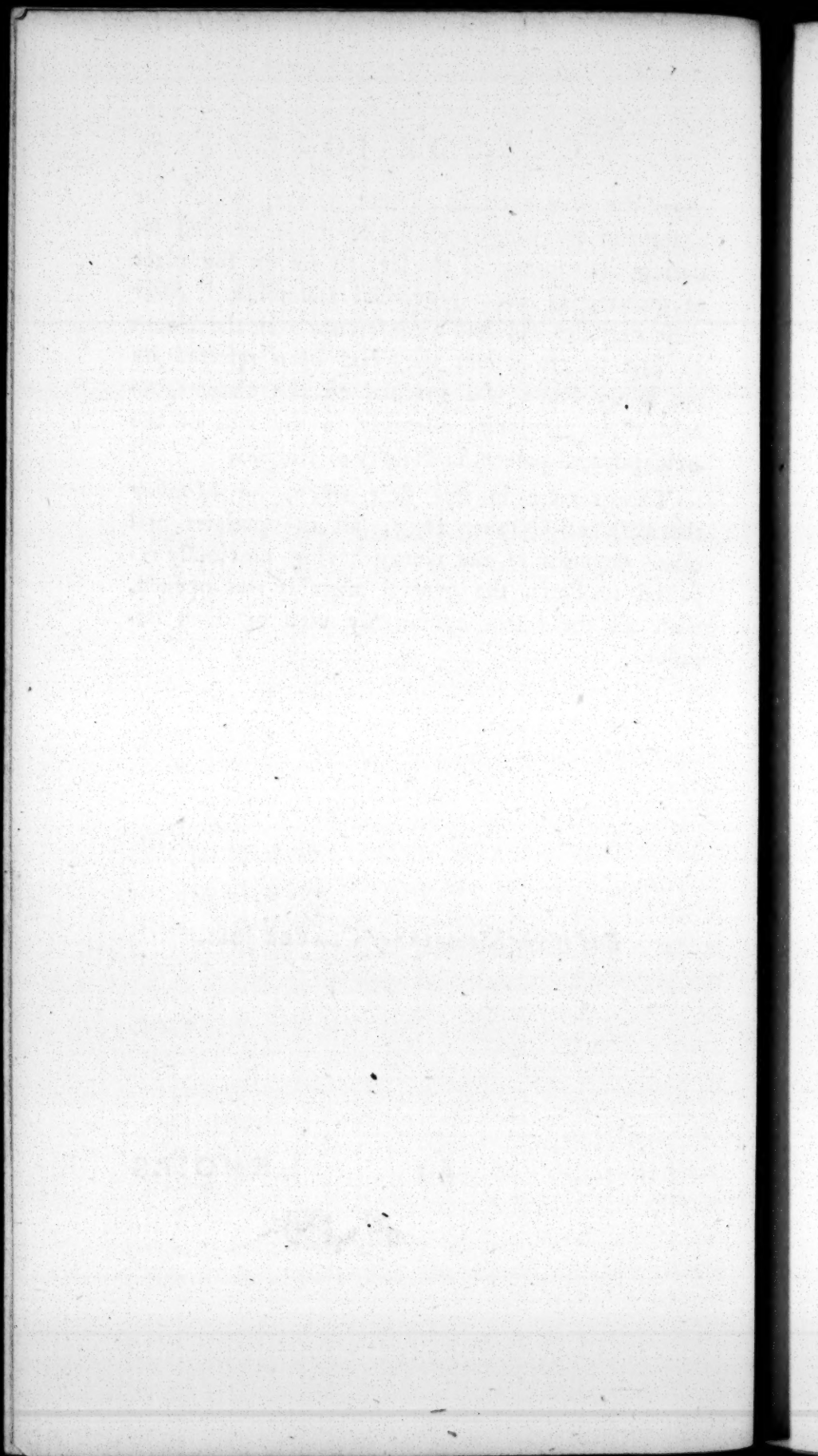
mother's side, of the archbishop of Sens. The above circumstances were communicated to the author of these memoirs by Pere de Gondy, preacher of the oratory, and father of Cardinal de Retz, to whom he had paid a visit, in the month of July 1657, after the dissolution of the general assembly of the clergy, in the city of Joigni, whither he had, at length, been permitted by the court to retire. But the grant of a coadjutorship to the bishop of Nevers, for his nephew, who was consecrated under the title of bishop of Tripoly, (but which dignity he never came to the possession of, not having survived his uncle) and the promise of the bishopric of Lodeve to the Abbé de Cely, (which promise was performed after the breaking of the assembly) served to render the good intentions of the archbishop of Sens of very little effect. But his resolution and firmness induced many of his brethren, and a still greater number of the second order of the clergy to follow his example.

The Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state, acquainted the chapter of Rheims, that it was the King's pleasure that their grand vicars, to whom the care of the diocese was committed, during the vacancy of the see, should convoke the assembly of the province in the city of Senlis. This was done to procure, with greater facility, such persons to be nominated as deputies as the court desired, and to prevent the bishops of Châlons and Boulogne, the former of whom was a friend of Cardinal de Retz, from being appointed to that office. The chapter was therefore obliged to send a deputation to the King, to request that his Majesty would permit them

them the free exercise of that power, which the chapter of every metropolitan church is entitled to, during the vacancy of the see, to fix on the place of meeting of their provincial assemblies. After these deputies had had a conference with the Count de Brienne, to whom they had been referred by the King, leave was granted to the chapter, to hold their provincial assembly in the hall of the archiepiscopal palace, in the city of Rheims.

Things were in this state when, on Monday the 25th of October 1655, all the prelates and other deputies of the clergy having previously repaired to Paris, the general assembly was opened, with all the forms customarily used on such occasions.

End of the MEMOIRS of CLAUDE JOLI.



M E M O I R S
OF THE
DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.

Containing the most material incidents
which happened in France, during the
War of Paris, to the time of Cardinal
de Retz's imprisonment, in 1652, with
the characters of the several persons
belonging to the court.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

Printed by J. Streater

at the Sign of the Gun

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

MOST of those persons who have written memoirs have been induced to undertake the task by a desire, either of apologizing to the world for some particular part of their conduct in life, or of making known to posterity the share which they had in the extraordinary and important transactions which they relate. Neither of these motives influenced the illustrious author of the following narrative. Her sole view was to paint the truth: without permitting any regard, either to her interests or to her glory, to have the least share in the portraits with which she presents us.

The rectitude of her intentions, the innocence of her manners, and the noble simplicity of her conduct, which had ever set her above the attacks of slander, rendered every apology totally needless: whilst her fondness for peace, and an undisturbed life constantly prevented her from meddling with any affairs, save those in which she was, absolutely, engag-

ed by the duties of her station. Descended from one of the most illustrious families of the kingdom, and placed in the most elevated rank, she demeaned herself therein with a modest dignity; equally a foe to frivolous disquiet as to vain ostentation; and, contented with possessing great talents, she never sought to raise her reputation by exhibiting them to the world. Thus, in the midst of those tumults and disorders, by which France was so violently agitated, and whilst almost every person in the kingdom, of the highest rank and of each sex, sided with one or other of the different parties and cabals, she was enabled, with consummate prudence, to avoid the dangerous torrent. But she had the misfortune to see that fatal torrent hurry away, in spite of all her endeavours to prevent it, a man of illustrious birth, with whom she was connected by the closest ties of consanguinity.

She, a thousand times, reiterated her attempts, to detach that illustrious man from a party, which, in the end, prov'd so fatal to him. But, all her endeavours proving ineffectual, she, with great judgement, united in her conduct the different duties
of

of the daughter and the subject; and, whilst, on the one hand, she preserved all those sentiments of respect and attachment which she owed to her father, on the other, she never lost sight of that zeal and fidelity which was due to her King, for whom she naturally entertained a profound reverence, which daily encreased, from her observation of the shining qualities of that wise monarch.

At length, she had the pleasure to see the author of her birth finally recede from those unhappy factions, which excited so many troubles in the kingdom; and, from that time, she beheld all that passed with much greater composure than before; not but that, animated by a strong affection for her native country, she still continued to lament the misfortunes in which it was involved, and, influenced by that charity, which so eminently distinguished the subsequent conduct of this pious heroine, that she, upon every occasion, vigorously exerted herself, in relieving all those, whose distresses came to her knowledge.

'Twas thus that she chiefly employed herself during those tumultuous times.

For, as it has been already observed, she never sided with any party, nor ever entered into any cabal. But, although her prudence prevented her forming any such dangerous connections, yet, by her penetration, she was enabled to acquire a perfect knowledge of all the different interests and pursuits of each party, and to develop, with admirable accuracy, the various characters, both of those who appeared as actors in the scene, and, also, of those, who, though concealed themselves, directed the motions of the rest. No one, therefore, was so well qualified to write the history of her own times, as the person who composed the following memoirs; seeing that she was perfectly acquainted with every circumstance which she relates, and that the love of truth, alone, directed her pen.

Finally, let no one be surprized, should he find, depicted in these memoirs, some foibles of very eminent persons, of divers characters. The finest pictures have their shades: and there are few persons to be found whose virtues are not, in part, obscured by some defect. It is not at all astonishing, therefore, that amongst the greatest men, who
have

have distinguished themselves in our days, both as heroes and as politicians, some of them should, at times, have given themselves up to the sole guidance of their passions. That disregard for religion, with which some of them were infected, in those fatal times, deadened their faculties, and rendered them incapable of perceiving all the dangers to which their erroneous conduct exposed them. But, when, by an effect of the divine goodness, they were roused from this lethargy, those principles of probity and justice, which they possessed, having rendered them equally the objects of imitation in christian life; as they had before been in the arts of war and policy, the triumph of grace shone forth in them in its full lustre; and they edified mankind as much by their solid virtues and by their exemplary piety, as they had formerly charmed them by the vast extent of their abilities, and their intrepidity in the midst of dangers. What history relates, of some false steps of their youth, cannot, therefore, obscure their glory. It was in this persuasion that the illustrious author

thor of these memoirs deemed it necessary to omit nothing, which the accuracy of history requires: firmly believing that she should not, thereby, do the least injury to those great men, for whom, moreover, she entertained an infinite esteem.

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S

O F T H E

DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.

P A R T T H E F I R S T.

WERE we to judge from the present peaceful and triumphant state of the kingdom of France, and from the wisdom and absolute power with which it is governed, we might easily be led to conclude that it has ever been thus subjected to legal authority; and it is with difficulty that we persuade ourselves that it could, at any time, be reduced to the situation in which we have seen it, during the Regency of Anne of Austria*, our sovereign's mother.

It is certain, however, that the administration of Cardinal Mazarin†, who had been invested with an unlimited power by that princess, was become, at one period of the regency, so odious to the whole nation, that even those, who were reputed

* Anne of Austria, the eldest daughter of Philip the III^d, King of Spain. She died at Paris, in 1666.

† Jules Mazarin, Cardinal, and Prime Minister of State. He died at Vincennes, in 1661.

the most discreet, found themselves forced, in a manner, to revolt even against the lawful authority of the state, in order to free themselves from, what appeared to them to be, a real oppression. And, with the view of annihilating this illegally assumed power, those persons, to whom the conduct of the ministry was, at length, become insupportable, excited so many troubles, and formed such a variety of factions in the nation, as must, inevitably, have crushed the regal power during the King's minority, had not providence, ever watchful over that Prince's welfare, heaped upon him, from the first, those marks of favour and protection, which he has constantly experienced, ever since. The animosity which these persons entertained against the King's ministers must, certainly, have prevented their reflecting, that it was God who had appointed this Prince to reign over them, and that, having been destined, by that supreme power, to give law to Europe, he was accountable to no one else for his conduct.

This Prince was born at St. Germain, on the 5th of September 1638. He succeeded to the crown on the 14th of May 1643, and, on the fifth day of his reign, the Duke of Enguien obtained a victory over the Spaniards, at Rocroi: which might justly be considered as a presage of the future glory and felicity of the reign of Lewis the XIVth, and a happy omen of the blessings which the nation might expect from the regency of the Queen, his mother.

In the former part of the regency, all things, in fact, wore the most favourable appearance; and, for several years together, the arms of the young
King

King were crowned with the most brilliant success. These circumstances, therefore, were so many prognostics of those great and extraordinary events, from whence he has derived so much glory, and has been enabled, since the period of his coming of age, to carry the limits of his empire to so vast an extent.

It was through the influence of the star which presided at the birth of this Prince that, whilst yet in his childhood, he was enabled to subdue the numerous factions, which had sprung from the people's hatred to Cardinal Mazarin; to calm all the troubles which had been excited by those factions, and to compel all his subjects to sacrifice their abhorrence of that minister to the duty which they owed their King. Finally, it was by these first essays that this new Cæsar began his reign in Gaul: a reign which, from the very æra of his coming of age, proved still more glorious, than even those of the first Cæsars, his predecessors.

My sole design in writing these memoirs is to give a plain narrative, as far as I can remember, of every incident worth notice, which happened, within my knowledge, during the King's minority: for I am not capable of relating, with that dignity which the subject would require, all the great actions which he has done since that time. Therefore, I shall speak only of the miserable state to which the kingdom of France was reduced, by the implacable hatred which had been conceived against Cardinal Mazarin, and which, nevertheless, did not break out till after he had, very unadvisedly, refused the advantageous peace, which the Spaniards offered us at Munster, by consenting that we should retain all our conquests.

This

This refusal occasioned new taxes to be laid upon the people, and created a suspicion that, in order to have a pretext for perpetuating them, that minister intended to eternize the war.

After having given a sketch of the troubles and disorders which agitated the kingdom, during the time in which our new Augustus governed the state by his ministers only, nearly in like manner as our Kings of the first race governed, by their mayors of the palace; I shall shew the secret motives, and shall depict the different characters of the principal actors, both of the court party and of that of the parliament, which latter was entitled the *Fronde*, and the major part of the members of which pretended to be influenced by no other motive, than a regard for the public welfare, and the defence of the violated rights of the people.

But, before I proceed any further, it will be necessary for me to relate what was the first cause of the court's displeasure against the parliament, antecedent to the time of the *Fronde*. His Majesty having been taken dangerously ill, with the small pox, the Queen, the Duke of Orleans*, and the Prince of Condé† were very assiduous in making their court to the members of that assembly, foreseeing that, in case the King should die, they should stand in need of their favour, with respect to the appointment of a new regency. In consequence of this conduct of the Queen and their Highnesses,

* Gaston de France, uncle of the King, Louis the XIVth. He died at Blois, in 1660.

† Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Enguien, succeeded to the title of Prince of Condé in 1646. He died at Fontainebleau, in 1686.

the parliament was become so arrogant, that his Majesty could not have fixed on a more improper time for enforcing obedience to his orders, by carrying to the Palais, immediately upon his recovery, a number of edicts, to be registered. By some of these edicts, additional burdens were laid on the people; by others, the payment of the salaries of certain officers of the state was suspended; some contained appointments of an additional number of masters of requests; and others, again, decreed that, in future, on the death of any officer of the state, his post should devolve to the King, who should be at liberty to sell it to whoever he should think proper; and, in consequence, deprived the families of the deceased of every benefit arising therefrom.

The parliament, though they highly disapproved of these edicts, did not, however, too openly manifest their displeasure, at the time of their being delivered to them. But, as it is not in the King's presence that objections are started, they afterwards sent a deputation to the Queen, with the most humble remonstrances, and to represent to her Majesty that those edicts were of such a nature, as to exclude all possibility of their being registered. Nor was it at all unusual for the parliament to remonstrate in this manner, or to refuse to register such edicts as they did not approve; on the contrary, they not unfrequently exercised this power without any opposition from the court. But it was otherwise in the present case: for her Majesty not only determined, that the parliament should not enter into a debate on the subject of those edicts, but, also refused to grant an audience to their deputies.

The

The court of masters of requests sent a separate deputation to the Queen, but they did not meet with a more favourable reception, than those of the parliament had experienced. However, as they were more particularly interested in the affair, the loss of their posts exposing their families to inevitable ruin, they, from the first, acted with greater vigour than any of the rest of the officers, and neglected nothing to animate those of the parliament, who were already sufficiently exasperated. These latter adopted a more prudent and crafty conduct; for, instead of talking of their own interests, they made those of the public the constant topics of their discourse, and declared that they would register no more edicts, for the purpose of taxing the people, who were, already, but too much oppressed. This declaration, which they took good care to spread through the city, proved so successful, that the people carried their reverence for them almost to adoration, and gave them the strongest reason to believe, from the extravagant manner in which they testified their applause and gratitude, that they were ready to go any lengths in their defence.

The parliament, finding itself thus firmly supported, now became much more haughty, and more formidable also. A general union was proposed by all the superior courts, and by the city corporation, that they might be the better enabled to defend their common rights. Cardinal Mazarin, having been informed of this proposal, sent for the deputies of all the superior courts, and acquainted them that the Queen was fully determined not to suffer those courts to issue any edict for a similar union. And, those gentlemen having answered, that

that the above intended measure would not be in the least prejudicial to the King's service, his eminency replied that it was sufficient that the Queen did not approve of it, and that, if the King should think proper to forbid their wearing band-strings, they must not presume to wear them, as it was not so much the thing prohibited, as the prohibition, which constituted the offence. The deputies, however, returned to their respective courts, in order to make a report of what had passed at their interview with the Cardinal, whose comparison of the band-strings they treated with the utmost derision, and on which subject a great number of burlesque pieces were, at that time, published, both in prose and verse. They also ridiculed him, very highly, for having, instead of saying *l'arret d'union*, [the edict of union] said *l'arret d'oignon* [the edict of onion]; which blunder arose from his inability to pronounce the French language in a proper manner.

At length, after having diverted themselves for some time at the Cardinal's expence, they came to a resolution, to issue the abovementioned edict of union on the very next day, which was accordingly executed, in spite of the orders which the Queen sent them, in the morning, prohibiting them from proceeding any further in their design: so much were they puffed up with the importance which they had acquired during the King's illness, as I have before related. They further decreed that letters should be written to all the other parliaments of the kingdom, to request their concurrence in the above measure. And as it was this proceeding which laid the first foundation of the subsequent

subsequent revolt and rebellion, so from hence, also, must be dated the commencement of what was called the *Fronde*, which deriv'd its principal source from the contempt in which the Cardinal was held, and which was chiefly founded on the weakness and timidity of his disposition, which began to shew itself very early in the regency, on the following occasion. The curate of the parish of S. Eustache being dead, the Queen had appointed another person to succeed to the office: but all the inhabitants of that quarter, even to the very fish sellers, assembled, and in a most tumultuous manner, went in a body to the palace, peremptorily insisting that the nephew of the deceased, a man who, by his extensive charities and by the singular piety of his life, had gained the affections of all the parishioners, should be appointed their curate, and declaring that they would accept of no other person. Her Majesty and the Cardinal were weak enough to consent to what these people required with so much insolence: from whence many intelligent persons took occasion to observe, that this proof of the Cardinal's want of resolution would be attended with very pernicious consequences: an observation which was fully verified in the sequel.

This irresolution of the Cardinal, joined with the dependance which the parliament placed on the people, in consequence of the eagerness with which they themselves seized every opportunity to manifest their firm attachment to the interests of that assembly, contributed still more to encrease their insolence. They (the parliament) well knew that, to obtain any thing from his eminency, nothing further was necessary, than to misuse and to menace him; that, moreover, he was sensible neither
of

of injuries nor services; that neither cruelty nor malice entered into his character; that, equally avaricious and timid, he could never be induced to grant favours to any, save to those who had, or might do him a disservice. And it was from this perfect knowledge of his weaknesses, that the *Fronde* were enabled, in all their contests with the Cardinal, so easily to obtain from him whatever they thought proper to require.

The disrespectful conduct of the parliament towards the court flowed also, from the same source; that thorough contempt which they entertained for the minister, and of which they knew him to be so justly deserving; and this contempt was, at length, carried to such an excess, that the Queen, unable any longer to bear with it, determined to exert her authority against those gentlemen. But this resolution was taken too late to produce any good effect: and of this her Majesty became but too well convinced, when, having sent the chancellor*, to command the parliament, in her name, to break up their assemblies, the fury of the people rose to so great a height on the occasion, that the chancellor would, certainly, have been torn in pieces by them, before he could have reached the *Palais*, had he not found means to make his escape out of their hands; and the Marshal de la Meilleraye†, whom the Queen had sent, with the whole regiment of guards, to extricate him from his perilous situation, and to re-conduct him to the

* Peter Seguier, chancellor of France and keeper of the seals. He died in 1673.

† Charles de la Porte, Duke de la Meilleraye, marshal of France. He died in 1664.

Palais Royal, was exposed to imminent danger, in the execution of his commission.

Those who had the greatest share in exciting all these troubles and disorders, both in the parliament and amongst the people, were Broussel * and Blancmenil†, and they were the persons, also, who spoke, with the most insolence, against the edicts which the King had delivered to the parliament, and who even opposed their being registered with so much vehemence, that the Queen found herself in a manner, compelled to issue orders for taking them both into custody. These orders were executed on the 26th of August 1648; on which day a *Te-Deum* was sung, for the victory obtained over the Spaniards, at Lens. The detention of Broussel and Blancmenil induced some of the most mutinous amongst the citizens, to give orders for barricading the streets of Paris, with the view of making themselves masters of the King's person, of driving Cardinal Mazarin out of the city and the kingdom, and of procuring the number of those who governed the state, under her Majesty's authority, to be augmented.

There was scarcely one person, of all those who declared themselves against the court, but who either had, or, at least, imagined that he had, some private reason for his conduct, and who did not endeavour, nevertheless, to create a belief, that he was actuated, solely, by a regard for the interests of the people and for the public welfare.

* Peter Broussel, a member of the grand chamber of the parliament.

† René Poitier, [*Sieur de*] Lord of Blancmenil, one of the presidents of the parliament.

It is certain, however, that they were influenced by a concern for their own interests, more than by any other consideration. And to begin with Broussel and Blancmenil, who had always appeared the most zealous, and whom the Queen had ordered to be seized alone, for that reason. The first of these had been disgusted, by the refusal of the court to yield to his application, for a company in the guards for his son; and the resentment of the latter had been excited, by the banishment of his relation, the bishop of Beauvais*, whom Cardinal Mazarin had caused to be exiled, on a suspicion that he possessed too great a share of favour at court, and that he aspired to the dignity of prime minister.

Longueil †, was the third person, in the parliament, who declared himself against the court, and the motive by which he was influenced thereto, exclusive of the general pretext, made use of by all the rest, was his having been refused the post of chancellor to the Queen.

The other members of the parliament followed the example set them by these persons, and declared themselves one after another; being actuated much less by a desire of serving the public, although that was constantly their pretext, than by a design to promote their own secret views.

Whilst the streets of the city remain'd barricaded, in consequence of which the Queen found

* Augustin Poitier, Bishop and Count of Beauvais, who was almoner to the Queen-Mother, and was one of her chief confidants, uncle to the President de Blancmenil.

† René de Longueil de Maisons, one of the presidents of the parliament. He died in 1677.

herself compelled to release the prisoners, a great variety of incidents happened, although matters continued in that state for a few days only. But I shall take no notice of them here, both as they have before been related by others, and, also, as I have determined to make mention of those circumstances only, which they may have omitted, concerning the motives and characters of the persons, whose conduct has already been so amply describ'd.

The court quitted Paris in a short time after the removal of the barricadoes, and did not return thither till after the parliament had accommodated matters with the Queen-Mother, but which, in fact, they effected on their own terms: a circumstance which gave great vexation to Cardinal Mazarin, and still more to the Queen. And accordingly, when the parliament met again, which was about the time of the feast of St. Martin, the intrigues and cabals were renewed, with greater ardour than ever. The court, therefore, resolved to block up the city of Paris: but, before I say any thing of that blockade, it will be proper to give the names of those great personages who came to offer their services to the parliament; and, at the same time, to mention something concerning their characters, and the motives by which they were induced to take that step.

Every one will, doubtless, be surprized to find that the Dutchess de Longueville* was one of the first who came: she, who could have no expecta-

* Anne-Genevieve de Bourbon, Dutchess de Longueville, sister of Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, and of Armand Prince of Conti. She died in 1679.

tions from that party, nor could have any thing to fear neither, and who had not the least cause whatever to complain of the court.

With regard to the Prince of Condé*, although he appeared to enter into a kind of engagement with the parliament, and although he had even consented to something like a negotiation, which was carried on, in his behalf, by the Duke de Châtillon†, and, on the side of the parliament, by the President Viole, yet he never had any intention to unite with any other party than that of the court. In all the steps which he, at first, affected to take, in opposition to the court, he had no other view, than to revenge himself on Cardinal Mazarin, who had engaged him to undertake the siege of Lerida‡, on a promise of furnishing him with both a larger body of troops, and a greater quantity of ammunition, than he afterwards sent him; in consequence of which, his Highness was obliged to raise the siege, having neither a force, nor ammunition sufficient to reduce the place. And, when he, at last, feigned to enter into the party of the parliament, it was only in hopes of being enabled, thereby, to make better terms for himself with that minister, whose power he wished to diminish a little, that he might the more easily obtain from him what he demanded. Thus the Prince united with the *Frondeurs*, less with the design of serving, than of deceiving them, and, by

* Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé.

† Louis-Gaspard de Coligny, Duke de Châtillon. He was killed in the attack of Charenton, in 1649.

‡ In the year 1647.

that means, to procure for himself an advantageous accommodation with the court.

These were the sole motives by which the Prince of Condé was induced to pretend a willingness to join the party of the parliament, and to consent to the negotiation of which I have already spoken: but, in truth, he soon dropped the mask. What first compelled him to adopt a conduct more consonant with his natural inclination, as well as with his duty, was an incident which happened in the parliament, a short time before the commencement of the blockade of Paris. One Coulon, a zealous *Frondeur*, having observed, with much vehemence, that, whilst every art was used to lull them into security, the King's troops were advancing towards the city, the Prince asked him, with a haughty air, who commanded those troops: and Coulon answering that they were headed by Colonel David, his Highness replied, that, although he had long had the command of the King's armies, yet he had never heard of a colonel of that name before. He then ridiculed both Coulon and his unknown colonel, with so much severity, that the assembly looked upon Coulon as a visionary, and considered his story of the approach of the troops, under his pretended colonel, as a meer fable; although nothing was, in fact, less fabulous. But, the Prince of Condé having, from hence, taken occasion again to raise his voice, and to resume that haughtiness, which was so natural to him, the assembly openly and loudly manifested their resentment of his behaviour: which so highly incensed the Prince, that he made a sign with his hand, as if he meant to intimidate one
of

of the members, whose name was Quatre-Sous. This created much murmuring in the assembly, and Quatre-Sous, exclaiming that the Prince had menaced him, demanded justice for the insult. But those who were most attached to the Prince of Condé alledged, in his excuse, that he accustomed himself much to that gesture, and did not mean it as a menace. To this Quatre-Sous replied, with an air of great insolence, that, if it was his customary gesture, he ought to break himself of it, as it was a very unbecoming one: which so irritated his Highness that, from that day, he made Cardinal Mazarin's quarrel with the parliament his own affair.

The Duke de Bouillon* sided with the parliament, under the pretence of the court's having neglected to indemnify him for the loss of the sovereignty of Sedan; of which he pretended to have been unjustly deprived, by the late King, although many persons affirmed that his father † possessed himself of it by an artifice, by guiding the hand of the real heiress‡, after her decease, and thus causing her to sign the bequest of it to him, in like manner as if she had been alive at the time. This, at least, is what has been reported: but I do not pretend to assert it for a fact.

But, to return to the motives which induced the

* Frederic-Maurice de la Tour, Duke de Bouillon. He died in 1652.

† Henry de la Tour, Viscount de Turenne, Duke de Bouillon, sovereign Prince of Sedan. He died in 1623.

‡ Charlotte de la Marck, heiress of Sedan, Dutchess de Bouillon. She died, without issue, in 1654, and bequeathed all her possessions to her husband.

Duke de Bouillon to declare himself against the court, he was in hopes that, by putting himself at the head of a considerable party, of which he expected to be chosen the leader, he should be the more easily enabled to right himself in his pretensions. Others have imagined that, in concert with his brother, M de Turenne*, he had formed a project to reduce France to a similar state with that to which Holland had been reduced, by Prince Maurice of Nassau. But it is scarcely to be imagined that so vague and extravagant a design, and so difficult of execution, could have been conceived by persons of such good sense, as the two brothers abovementioned.

It is much more probable that the Duke de Bouillon joined the parliament, under a notion that he should become the leader of that party: but, soon finding his error, he constantly pretended to be troubled with the gout, on every occasion in which they required his services. He perceiv'd, therefore, that he had not acquired so much consequence with his party, as he had promised himself from the great power possessed by his brother, M. de Turenne, who commanded the numerous army, which Hervart † afterwards secured for the court, by dint of money. But what still augmented his disgust against the parliament's party was, to find himself opposed by the Dukes of Elbeuf ‡

* Henry de la Tour, Viscount de Turenne, Marshal of France. He was killed by a canon ball, in Germany, in 1675.

† Hervart, the comptroller-general of the finances, who sold to the King the house at S. Cloud, for Monsieur, his Majesty's brother.

‡ Charles de Lorraine, the second of that name, Duke of Elbeuf. He died in 1657.

and Beaufort*, and the Marshal de la Mothe†, not to mention the Prince of Conti ‡, who had still stronger pretensions than all the other leaders.

This competition between so many commanders was an effect of the parliament's policy. According to some, that assembly gave hopes to each of the candidates, separately, that he should be invested with the supreme direction of all their affairs, in order, by that means, to engage a greater number of persons of the first quality in their party. But according to others, many of those gentlemen entered into secret negotiations with the parliament, the knowledge of which they cautiously concealed from the rest.

It was thought that the Duke de Bouillon would, however, receive some consolation for the destruction of his projects, from being thus enabled to indulge that passionate fondness which he and the Dutchess § ever manifested, for embarking in every party which was raised in opposition to the interests of France, and in which there was any prospect of their having the least commerce with Spain.

The Duke of Elbeuf entered into the party, from a similar persuasion, as I have already ob-

* Francis de Vendôme, Duke of Beaufort. He was killed in defending Candia, in 1669.

† Philip de la Mothe-Houdancourt, Marshal of France. His widow still possesses the post of governess to the King's children. He died in 1657.

‡ Armand de Bourbon, Prince of Conti. He died in 1666.

§ Leonor-Catherine Fabronie de Bergh, Dutchess de Bouillon.

served, that he should command therein without a competitor.

The Marshal de la Mothe was influenced by his friendship for the Duke de Longueville*, and, also by a desire of revenging himself for the four years imprisonment, which the court had caused him to undergo.

Finally, the Duke of Beaufort's motive for uniting himself with the parliament was, his resentment of the imprisonment, which he, also, had suffered, from the very commencement of the regency, and during which the court had even proceeded so far, as to institute a criminal process against him, on a suspicion of his having formed a design against the life of Cardinal Mazarin: he had made his escape at the beginning of the summer, and had remained closely concealed ever since.

At the first commencement of the disturbances in the parliament, Madame de Vendôme †, the Duke's mother, presented a petition to that assembly, requesting that they would issue an edict of justification, in favour of her son: but, although she met with a flattering reception from that body, yet the affair was, nevertheless, suffered to drop. The Duke of Beaufort, therefore, made a tender of his services to the parliament ‡, influenced as much by his enmity to the Cardinal, as by a desire of vindicating his character from the above ca-

* Henry of Orleans, the second of that name, Duke de Longueville.

† Françoise de Lorraine, Dutches de Mercœur, wife of Cæsar, Duke de Vendôme.

‡ On the 14th of January 1649.

lummy, and of, thereby, procuring for himself a secure asylum.

This nobleman appeared, at first view, a very extraordinary person: he had formed such a jargon of low words, and which were so much misplaced, in his common discourse, that he thereby rendered himself the object of every one's ridicule; not but that, had these words been properly placed, they might, perhaps, have appeared to advantage. This, however, did not prevent his becoming, in the end, master of the city of Paris: from which circumstance, some took occasion to observe, as an excuse for his expressing himself in so unintelligible and vulgar a manner, that it was necessary that a King should speak the language of his subjects: for his great popularity had acquired him the title of, King [*des Halles*] of the markets.

The Dutchess de Longueville and he had both been engaged in the cabal, in opposition to the regency; and, although they did not openly manifest a hatred for each other, yet there had always subsisted a certain degree of concealed enmity between them: for which reason, he preferred connecting himself with the Coadjutor, rather than with the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess.

The people of Paris had been so much prepossessed in his favour, by the Coadjutor*, who had insinuated to them that he was irreconcilable with Cardinal Mazarin, and, consequently, was incapable of deceiving them, that they, in a manner, joined adoration with the affection which they bore

* John-Francis-Paul de Gondy, Cardinal de Retz and Coadjutor [to the archbishop] of Paris.

him. He possessed no abilities, but he had so good an opinion of himself, that he easily imposed on weak people. He even pretended to more frankness than he really had, and, from this kind of conduct, half natural and half assumed, he seemed to possess a greater share of sincerity than the most intelligent persons had been able to discover in him: which induced the rest to place the most implicit confidence in his fidelity.

As the Dutches de Longueville had concealed, with great address, the disagreement between her and her brother, the Prince of Condé, no one suspected it to be real, till, deeming it for her interest that it should be known, she consented to its being made public. On this account, the Parisians could not be prevailed on to put any trust neither in the Prince of Conti, nor in her; and which circumstance also gave such great advantages to the other party which was in the city, and which was in opposition to them.

The Prince of Condé was extremely fond of the Dutches, his sister. And she, on her side, was attached to him less through motives of interest, than from the great esteem and the tender friendship which she entertained for him.

At that time, neither the Prince of Condé nor any of the cabal were qualified to form any designs, in the projecting of which much skill was required; and, although they were endow'd with great abilities, yet they employed them, solely, in polite and sprightly conversations, in commenting and refining on the delicate sensations of the heart and the mind: they considered all genius as consisting in making subtle distinctions, and in raising systems thereon which were sometimes very little conformable

conformable to nature. Those, then, who shone the most in these kinds of conversation, were reckoned the politest and most ingenious men: whilst every thing that wore the least appearance of serious and solid conversation, was treated as ridiculous and ungenteel.

The Dutchess de Longueville was but little versed in political knowledge: and so very defective was she in that point, that, some years before the time of which I am now speaking*, she had observed, without any chagrin, as if it had been a matter of no consequence, the great affection and attachment which subsisted between the Prince of Condé and Mademoiselle du Vigean†, with whom she had contracted a strict friendship, and had even been entrusted with the secret of this reciprocal attachment. Mademoiselle du Vigean, who was of the same disposition with the Dutchess de Longueville, had remarked, with equal unconcern, the extreme tenderness of the Prince of Condé for his sister. It is true that, when both had acquired a greater degree of experience, in becoming more politic, they also became insupportable to each other. Chabot‡, who, in virtue of the Prince of

* *All the circumstances which are related here, respecting Mademoiselle du Vigean, are to be considered as having happened previous to the blockade of Paris, and before the demise of Henry, Prince of Condé, who died in 1646.*

† Mademoiselle du Vigean, daughter of Francis Poussart, Marquis de For and Baron du Vigean. She died in a religious community, of which she had become a member.

‡ Henry Chabot, Duke de Rohan. He died in 1655.

Condé's great confidence and friendship for him, was become Mademoiselle du Vigean's chief adviser, convinced her how necessary it was that she should acquire an unrivalled influence over that Prince: in which design she perfectly succeeded.

The Marshal d'Albret, as also the Duke de la Rochefoucault*, who was still more politic than the Marshal, so clearly demonstrated to the Dutchess de Longueville, the great injury her interests would receive, from her suffering any other person to share with her the power which she had acquired over the Prince of Condé, who seemed, in a manner, to be the master of the kingdom, at that juncture, that she determined to destroy the close connection which existed between Mademoiselle du Vigean and the Prince; and, that she might the better succeed therein, she began with communicating her intention to that lady, who expressed a violent resentment on the occasion. The Dutchess then engaged the Marshal d'Albret to feign a passion for Mademoiselle du Vigean, in order to give the Prince of Condé a disgust to her: but Chabot, having warned the Prince that this stratagem could have been planned by no one but the Dutchess de Longueville, caused him to direct all his resentment against her alone. And thus, the connection between his Highness and Mademoiselle du Vigean became rather stronger than before, and he now entertained no other sentiments for the Dutchess, than those of the greatest indifference.

* Francis, Duke de la Rochefoucault, the sixth of that name. He was author of the "Memoirs of the Minority of Louis the XIVth," and of the "Maxims:" he died in 1680. Till the year 1650, he bore the title of, Prince de Marillac.

But

But what greatly encreased this indifferency was that the Prince of Condé's passion for his mistress became, at length, so violent, that, having always had an intention of procuring himself to be divorced from his wife, ever since the death of Cardinal de Richelieu*, under the pretext that he had been forced into that marriage, he determined to espouse her, (M. du Vigean) and even acquainted his mother† with his intention. That lady, being resolved, at any rate, to obtain credit with her son, professed herself highly pleased with his choice, and spoke of Mademoiselle du Vigean in the most obliging terms.

Mademoiselle du Vigean even ventured to mention the matter to the Dutchess de Longueville, who, without testifying any displeasure at the time, acquainted the Prince‡, her father therewith; having accommodated her difference with him, purposely to inflame him still more against his son. And he, in consequence, violently resented the matter, uttering the most injurious expressions, against both the lover and the mistress.

The Prince of Condé, on his part, irritated to the utmost against his sister, resolved to set no bounds to his resentment; and he, accordingly, informed the Duke de Longueville, her husband, of every circumstance which he imagined could prejudice her

* Armand-John du Pleffis, Cardinal de Richelieu. He died in 1642.

† Charlotte-Margaret de Montmorenci, daughter of the constable of France, widow of Henry the 11d, Prince of Condé. She died in 1650.

‡ Henry de Bourbon, the second of that name, Prince of Condé. He died in 1646.

in his opinion, having even proceeded so far as to advise him to confine her in one of his country-seats.

The Duke de Longueville, who was already sufficiently apprized of his wife's conduct, made no scruple to believe every thing which his brother-in-law had told him concerning her: but there he stopped, and could not be prevailed on to take any spirited measures in consequence. Besides that, he was, naturally, not very susceptible of delicate sensations, he was incapable of doing an act of violence. But what will appear totally inexplicable is, that the Prince of Condé, who had expressed so much resentment against the Duchess de Longueville, through the excess of his passion for Mademoiselle du Vigean, became, in a very short time, after a disorder which he contracted some time after the battle of Norlingue*, as regardless of the person for whom he had entertained so strong an affection, as if he had never heard her name mentioned.

However, although Mademoiselle du Vigean was now entirely out of the question, yet the brother and sister still continued at variance. The Prince of Condé retained a great contempt for the Duchess de Longueville, whilst she, on her side, manifested a strong aversion for him. But, as she had found a very sensible satisfaction in the universal respect and the great importance, which she had acquired, through his means, she determined to supply the loss of his support by her cabals; and this she was the more easily enabled to effect, as those, with whom she connected herself, for this

* In the year 1645.

purpose, desirous of availing themselves, in their turn, of her influence, continually represented to her how much it was to the honour of a woman to be seen engaged in affairs of consequence, and how great a share of credit and reputation she would from thence derive; besides the pleasure which she felt in uniting herself with a party, which was in opposition to that of her brother's. For, although he seemed inclined to enter into that party with which she had sided, yet she knew him too well to believe him capable of such an action, being convinced, moreover, of his strong aversion to all parties in general.

But the consideration by which she was chiefly incited to this conduct, and of which she was principally susceptible was that, by thus intermeddling in the important affairs of a party, she flattered herself that she should encrease the reputation of her abilities, an eager desire to effect which constituted the ruling passion of her soul. In a word, every thing which she judged to be most conducive to the accomplishment of this design outweighed, with her, all other considerations whatsoever.

And it was on this account also, that she constantly made matters of the most consequence give way to those of slight import; and whoever should have expected to have found her actuated by motives of real solidity, would, doubtless, have been greatly deceived; as she commonly sacrificed both her fortune and tranquility to her passion for fame. But, as she, in general, placed that fame where it did not exist, she seldom derived any other satisfaction from all her pursuits, than the vain imagination

gination of having sought it where it was to be found.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault was the person who suggested to this Princess these chimerical and false notions. As his influence over her was very great, and as he considered his own interest alone, he had no other view, in leading her into the various intrigues in which she took part, than that of making good terms for himself by her means.

With respect to the Duke de Longueville, although he had good cause to be offended at having been excluded from all share in the secret negotiations, which had been carried on, at Munster, between those persons with whom he had been jointly appointed, as plenipotentiary from the French court, he, nevertheless, expressed no resentment on that head. It was not this circumstance, therefore, which induced him to declare himself against the court; but Cardinal Mazarin, who was not sufficiently acquainted with his disposition, fearing that he entertained a due sense of the indignity which had been, thereby, offered him, and that, in order to revenge himself, he might be induced to discover to the world, that he (the Cardinal) had defeated the negotiations for a peace; under these apprehensions, I say, his eminency, with the intention of appeasing him in a matter in which he was not at all offended, unfortunately blundered upon the means of irritating him in reality.

He well knew that the Duke earnestly wished to obtain the government of Havre, which was the sole place of importance in Normandy which he had not in his hands, and the possession of which
would

would have absolutely rendered him master of the whole province. The Cardinal, therefore, impowered a person, named Priolo, to give him hopes of his acquiring that place, but without any design, nevertheless, of conferring it on him, having no other view than to protract the negotiation, and to amuse and dazzle him with that vain hope. And, as the Duke de Longueville was too strongly bent on completing the business to suffer any delays, he pressed the matter so closely, that Priolo gave him an absolute promise, in the Cardinal's name, that he should be put in possession of the government in question; but, at length, his impatience compelled the Cardinal frankly to declare to him that he had never made any such promise.

The minister was known to pay very little regard to his promises, and Priolo bore the character of a very great liar. Thus it has ever remained doubtful, which of the two was guilty of the deception; but the most rational opinion, which prevailed at that time, was that the Cardinal might, perhaps, have promised less than what Priolo had advanced, and, at the same time, more than what he was willing to acknowledge.

However, upon this occasion, the Duke de Longueville gave greater credit to the Cardinal's secretary than to that minister: from whence arose a most violent animosity between them, which, when it became public, great numbers of persons used all their endeavours to encrease, and to render that minister still more odious to the people: and this they were enabled to effect with the greater facility, as he was now become despised and hated by the whole kingdom in general.

Just

Just at this period, the Dutches de Longueville returned from Normandy, and, as she was pregnant, she borrowed of the archbishop of Paris * his seat at Noisi, it lying very convenient for her attendance on the court: the Duke de Longueville very frequently visited her at that place. The Coadjutor, also, under the pretext of doing the honours of his uncle's house, often repaired thither, for the purpose of negotiating, and he made so many propositions, and was so importunate with the Duke de Longueville, that he, at length, obtained from him a promise, that he would devote himself to the service of the kingdom and the parliament. But the Duke meant no otherwise than to serve them in the council, into which he had been admitted since the commencement of the regency; it having never entered his thoughts that a civil war would ensue. Neither could he be persuaded, but with great difficulty, to repair to Paris, during the blockade of that city; not considering himself as being, in anywise, obligated thereto. And thus, as he had, from the first, no design to make any stay there, and as, moreover, he perceiv'd that the parliament had no post to confer on him suitable to his rank, he soon quitted the city and returned to Normandy, whither he was followed by the Duke de Retz †, who, as M. Saint Evremond ‡ has observed, was confi-

* John Francis de Gondi, the first archbishop of Paris. He died in 1654.

† Peter de Gondi, Duke de Retz. He died in 1676.

‡ Charles Marquetel de St. Denis, [*Seigneur de*] Lord of Saint Evremond. He died in England, in 1703.

dered in no other light, in the city, than merely as a Duke and Peer of the kingdom.

Immediately upon the Duke de Longueville's arrival in Normandy, the whole province declared in his favour, and the Count d'Harcourt*, whom the court had deputed to command there, was instantly driven out.

But, to give some account, in this place, of the character of the Duke de Longueville, after having said so much of the motives by which he was actuated; that nobleman had, at various times, entered into other affairs in the same manner as he had entered into this; that is to say constantly without design. He was of so easy a disposition, that he had never rejected any application but with great unwillingness; more especially in matters the execution of which appeared to him to be either doubtful or unlikely.

With respect to the Coadjutor, although he shewed himself so active and zealous in the interests of the parliament, yet he had never had any reason to complain of the court: on the contrary, it was to the Queen that he stood indebted for the coadjutorship [to the archbishop] of Paris. But his ambition was boundless, and he had determined, whatever it might cost, to advance himself to the cardinalship: a dignity with which two bishops of Paris of his name†, had formerly been invested. A

* Henry de Lorraine, Count d'Harcourt. He died in 1666.

† Peter, Cardinal de Gondi, bishop of Paris, who died in 1616; and Henry de Gondy, who had the title of Cardinal de Retz, bishop of Paris: he died in 1622.

man of good sense, rectitude of mind, and regularity of conduct would have imagined that the most sure, most short, most becoming, and most just method of rendering his prince favourable to his wishes was by manifesting his fidelity: he would have trusted chiefly to this mode of conduct for his success, and would never have thought of establishing his grandeur and his glory on any other basis, than that of his duty; and, finally, by these means alone he would have been enabled to have attained his aims. But, as the Coadjutor could find no satisfaction but in extraordinary adventures only, he conceiv'd a notion that the most probable way to effect his purpose, would be to create divisions and disorders in the state. Besides, that such violent proceedings were most conformable to his disposition, he was, as I have already observed, so much addicted to every thing which wore the appearance of being extraordinary, that he would have preferred succeeding in a trifling or even a bad attempt, by such methods, rather than to have reaped a real and solid advantage from the prosecution of an honourable design, but which could not be accomplished but by ordinary means. Although he possessed much penetration, and a considerable degree of capacity, yet he was subject to such unaccountable foibles, that he commonly piqued himself on those qualities to which he had the least claim, even pretending to gallantry, tho' nature had been rather unfavourable to him in his person, and to bravery, although he was a priest.

He had some other foibles, also, which were productive of all those evils in which the kingdom was

was subsequently involved by him. But it will, doubtless, hardly be imagined what it was which first filled his brain with such a number of idle and chimerical notions; and it will be difficult to conceive, that a man possessed of such talents could have adopted an idea so extravagant, as that by which he was constantly influenced, in his eagerness and impetuosity, in support of the *Fronde* and the parliament.

During the time of his residence in Italy, he, very unfortunately, met with the history of the conspiracy of Louis de Fiesque*; and, as the reading romances commonly proves very prejudicial to young persons, whose minds are disposed to love, the perusal of the above book so effectually turned the brain of this ambitious man, that he even ventured to undertake a justification of this second Catiline†, whose conduct the author of the history has so justly and wisely condemned. And it will be sufficient to read the work which he (the Coadjutor) composed on the subject, but under the pretext, solely, of translating the history of the conspiracy, to be convinced how much he was charmed both with the act and with the actors; as he appears to have translated and commented upon it for no other purpose, than to justify the conduct and the motives of the Count de la Vaigne. He

* John-Louis de Fiesque, Count de la Vaigne, who was at the head of the conspiracy of Genoa; and was drowned in the sea, on the 1st of January 1557, at the beginning of the action.

† Catiline was the leader in a conspiracy against the city of Rome, during the time in which that city was under the consular government. He was killed by Petreus, Mark Anthony's lieutenant, in the year of Rome 692.

even took more pride and pleasure in the title of "Young Catiline," which was sometimes given him, than he promised himself from his advancement to the cardinalship: a dignity which his ambition made him desirous of obtaining, whatever it might cost, and to which his vanity caused him to aspire with so much confidence.

From the perusal of this book, he acquired so strong an inclination for entering into cabals amongst the citizens of Paris, that he, from that period, ever exerted himself to the utmost, to procure the favour of the inhabitants of that great city: being persuaded, no doubt, that the function of archbishop of Paris could not be more properly executed, than in forming cabals, fomenting seditions, and exciting insurrections.

But I must not omit to mention here, that, at the time when the parliament's party first sat up the barricadoes, he was so transported with thus having an opportunity of indulging his fondness for cabals, that he went amongst the insurgents, habited in his pontifical robes, in order to create an opinion that, by bestowing his benedictions amongst them, he was desirous of appeasing the tumult. He then went, in great haste, to give Cardinal Mazarin his advice on the state of affairs, but his eminency paid very little attention to him, knowing, perhaps, that he had contributed to excite those disorders: for, as soon as the Coadjutor had retired, the Queen and the Cardinal turned all he had said into the utmost ridicule.

It was, then, this cool and slighting reception which the Cardinal gave to the Coadjutor's offers, on which the latter grounded his pretext for joining the party of the *Frondeurs*.

— The

The Dukes de Brissac*, de Luines†, de Noirmoutier‡, and de Vitri§, entered also into the same party, and were constituted lieutenants-general under the Dukes of Elbeuf and Beaufort, and the Marshal de la Mothe, over whom, again, the Prince of Conti was appointed, in quality of generalissimo, as I have already mention'd in another place.

The Duke de Brissac joined that party in consequence of his alliance to the Coadjutor's family.

The Duke de Luines was influenced in his conduct, on this occasion, by a mistaken attachment to the tenets of Jansenism.

Noirmoutier had no other motive, than the hatred which he bore to the Prince of Condé, on occasion of some particular incident, which happened at the battle of Lens, and which he ever retained in mind.

And Vitri had been disgusted by the refusal of the court, to grant him the post which his father had formerly possessed.

Neither must I forget to observe here, that Laigues || joined the parliament's party, both as a friend to the Coadjutor, and, also, through his resentment against the Prince of Condé, from whom he had received some affront at play. Till now, Laigues had always been a person of small note and consideration.

* Louis de Cossé, Duke de Brissac. He died in 1661.

† Louis-Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luines.

‡ Louis de la Tremouille, Duke de Noirmoutier. He died in 1666.

§ Francis-Mary de l'Hôpital, Duke de Vitri.

|| The Marquis de Laigues. It was reported of him, that he had secretly espoused the Dutchess de Chevreuse, mother of the Duke de Luines.

La Boulaye*, who had entered into the party before Laigues, and who was still less known in the world, was induced to take this step by the court's refusal of his application for a reversionary grant of the post of Colonel of the Swiss guards, which the Duke de Bouillon la Marck†, his father-in-law, had enjoyed.

The Prince de Tarente‡, also, join'd the same party, at the instigation of Madame de la Tremouille§, his mother, who was very urgent with him on the subject; as she was extremely fond of law, and had several suits depending at that time.

The Count de Maure, who had ever born an excellent character, in an evil hour, became a *Frondeur*; for he thereby drew upon himself so much ridicule, that he was never afterwards able to get the better of it.

Tancrede || also followed the example of the rest, although he had no cause to be satisfied with the conduct of the parliament; that assembly having decided against him in his law-suit with Chabot. But, as he was a minor, the hopes of procuring a reversal of that decree, at some future time, induced him to join their party. But his death ren-

* Maximilian Echalat, Marquis de la Boulaye.

† Henry-Robert de la Marck, Duke de Bouillon. He died in 1652.

‡ Henry-Charles de la Tremouille, Prince de Tarente. He died in 1672.

§ Mary de la Tour, daughter of Henry de la Tour, Duke de Bouillon, Marshal of France.

|| ——— Tancrede, the pretended son of Henry the second Duke de Rohan. The parliament rejected his claim, by an edict issued in 1646.

dered all his designs, both with respect to the parliament and himself, very useless, and his brother-in-law acquired, thereby, an undisturbed possession of the immense inheritance of the house of Rohan.

On the death of Tancrede, some verses were published, on the subject of his dying in the service of the parliament; but I can recollect only two of them, the purport of which was, that *he had been a constant friend to the law; but that the law had been no friend to him.*

Mata joined the party of the parliament, in which, however, he made no great figure. Indeed, I never heard he was employed in any other capacity than as superintendant of the posts; an office which had formerly been conferr'd on Nouveau, his brother-in-law.

Fosseuse, Dallui, Sevigni, and many others of the same clan, all offered their services to the parliament, nearly at the same time with Mata; but they did so little to distinguish themselves, that I have nothing further to say of them.

The Duke of Elbeuf had employed one Des Landes to negotiate his treaty with the parliament, and had received positive assurances from him, in the name of those gentlemen, that he should be invested with the chief command. This Des Landes was a counsellor of the parliament, and had been acquainted with the Duke in Flanders, whither they had both been formerly exiled.

Des Landes lay under great obligations to the Duke of Elbeuf, through whose interest he had obtained a decision in his favour in a law-suit, on the success of which a considerable fortune depended. It was, also, at the instigation of this man, whose credit with his brethren of the parliament

was very great; he being the only one amongst them, who understood the art of war, that the Duke was chosen their general. It is certain, also, that, for the space of two days, he possessed an uncontrollable authority in Paris, and was the idol of the people, and the hope of the parliament: but, immediately upon the arrival of the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville, the great esteem which they had had for him vanished, insomuch that, from that time, it was scarcely known that he continued in the city, but from the burlesque songs which were daily made on him. It was this circumstance which induced the *Frondeurs* to send for the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville to Paris; for those who had been impowered to negotiate with him, on behalf of the city, did not intend to send for them, till it was first seen what turn affairs might take. But, when they observ'd the great authority which the Duke of Elbeuf, who had tendered his services to the parliament during this period, had acquired, they judg'd that there was no more time to be lost, and that he might be, thereby, enabled to traverse their designs. The besiegers and the besieged found themselves equally disappointed in the measures which they had taken: for, as every one either is, or fears to be engaged in law-suits, there were few persons who did not, in some degree, connect themselves with the parliament. But, as promises cost nothing, no sooner was the war declared, than those who had been most lavish of their protestations of attachment to that party, finding it more for their interest to side with the court than with them, promoted the blockade themselves; and those who came to serve them, rendered themselves

in

in the end, their masters. This gave the parliament so great a disgust to the war, that, without concerning themselves much about the interests of those persons who joined their party, they began to think of accommodating matters with the court, and that the more readily, as, the three or four hundred thousand men, which they had flattered themselves, they should have been able to have raised in Paris, being all artizans and tradesmen, not one of whom would stir from his house till he had received an advance of money, of which they (the parliament) were in great want, they found themselves reduced to the lowest ebb. Thus they could raise but very few troops, and those so bad, that they all took to flight, upon the first occasion of their being led to action. Nor was the court less deceived of the troops, which had been employed to form the blockade of Paris, with the view of reducing the city by famine, served only to nourish it. Provisions were become so very scarce and dear there, that the officers, who supplied the city, made a considerable profit by that kind of traffic, which induced every one to follow the example.

Although each general, in his turn, caused provisions to be brought to the city, yet the people could never be persuaded that this was done by any but the Duke of Beaufort and the Marquis de la Boulaye.

Finally, Paris put on so different an appearance from what it had been accustomed to wear, that the alteration, which had arisen in so short a time, would have appeared almost incredible. Nothing was talked of but the war, the price of grain, and the

the edict of 1617; by which all foreigners were excluded from a share in the government: affairs of state, alone, formed the conversation of every one, of whatever age or sex, and, the more ignorant they were, the more boldly did they express their opinions. But, with all this ridiculous eagerness for discoursing on serious and important matters, they possessed so little solidity in execution, that scarcely any one seemed to consider it as an act of rashness, thus to support a war against the royal authority.

It was on this account that the Prince of Condé observed, that this war could not be properly described, but in burlesque verse; seeing that both parties spent whole days in ridiculing each other.

Matters were not conducted with more dignity in the parliament. Whenever any proposition was made in that assembly, tending to the advantage of the court, those who opposed it, instead of attempting to reply, with better arguments than what had been used by their antagonists, never answered it, but with continual hootings and noises, nearly similar to those which the livery servants are accustomed to make at the gates of the *Cours*, and of the theatres: and this was properly what was called [*fronder*] to *frondize*.

But this term had still another origin, which was that of the kind of war in which the common people were accustomed to amuse themselves, in the suburbs, and in the ditches round the walls of the city; with slinging stones at each other, which was compared to the war of Paris, carried on by a number of citizens, who understood no other than that of the slingers. And the word *Fronde* began to

come

come into general use, after Bachaumont*, on a certain occasion, joining in those customary hoarings, had jocularly declared, in the parliament, that he would *fronsize* a proposal which had been made by his father, the president Le Coigneux, the father of the last president of that name.

The King had been conducted to St. Germain's on the 6th of January of that year, and intelligence was brought thither some time afterwards that the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville had arrived at Paris on the 10th, and that the Prince of Condé, who was suspected of having instigated his brother to take that step, was at one of his posts, which was no more than a quarter of a league distant from that city. This created a suspicion that he intended to repair thither himself also; which threw the Queen and Cardinal Mazarin into a terrible panic; but their apprehensions were quickly dissipated by his return to the court.

The Prince of Condé, whether with a view of removing the suspicions which might have been entertained of his conduct on the occasion, or whether through resentment of the opposition which was made to his design of reducing the city of Paris, spoke of his brother and sister in such terrible terms, that there needed not much penetration to discover that the whole was merely a trick, concerted amongst themselves. He became, at first, so furious, that nobody dared to approach him, and afterwards, all on a sudden, he returned to the

* M. de Bachaumont, who made the voyage, which was written by the celebrated Chapelle.

† In 1649.

Queen's apartment, with a certain air of freedom, as if he had never been offended; and, leading by the hand a little crooked wretch, whom he had brought with him, dressed in a faced coat, *There, Madam,* said he, with repeated bursts of laughter, *is the Generalissimo of Paris.* It is true, that the Prince of Conti did not fulfill the expectations which the people of Paris had formed of his abilities. The Dutchess, his sister, who was very assiduous in paying her court to him, and who had an absolute power over him, was well pleased that they had no better an opinion of him, that she might have the credit of every thing.

Marillac*, who governed her, and who would not suffer any one else to have the least credit with her, or even to appear to have any, did all in his power to prevent any intercourse from taking place between her and the Coadjutor, who, also, would gladly have obtained an influence over her, and was much vexed that he could not effect his purpose.

This estrangement of the Dutchess de Longueville insensibly created two parties in Paris.

The citizens had always entertained a distrust of her, on account of the Prince of Condé; moreover, they had not the best opinion whatever of her fidelity to their cause, and a still worse one of Marillac's, by whom she was governed; and they even knew that she could not be offended at their doubts of her sincerity, because she imagined that they would suppose her to be, in consequence,

* This is the same person of whom frequent mention has already been made, under the title of the Duke de la Rochefoucault. He was father of the present Duke.

possessed of a greater share of sublety and skill; inasmuch that, through the fear of not being deemed capable of conforming herself to the dispositions of persons of small abilities, or of no great reputation in that respect, she scarcely ever dared to act without disguise at any time.

The Coadjutor, on his side, exclusive of the speciousness of his manner, piqued himself on a probity, which was proof against, and above every consideration of interest. In fact, he was not easily to be tempted: he never entered into any affairs, but such as promised to be of great advantage to him; and, as he had sense enough to perceive that he had nothing to expect from the present conjuncture, he found it not at all difficult, therefore, to effect his design of monopolizing the credit of every thing to himself.

The Duke of Beaufort, who had connected himself with the Coadjutor, was actuated by the same policy: he possessed, however, a much larger share of probity than his associate. For, when he had once discovered what his honour required of him, he would not, for the world, have failed of complying therewith: but, as his judgement was very contracted, he had the misfortune seldom to know what was his duty. No one need, after this, be surprized that such opposite conducts should produce the effect, which it might have been expected they must have, with respect to those two men.

Towards the end of the blockade of Paris, the Coadjutor deprived the Prince of Conti and the Dutchesse de Longueville of all their credit in the city, in like manner as they had formerly dispossessed the Duke of Elbeuf. But, unfortunately for him,

he took it into his head to preach publicly, in behalf of his party against that of Cardinal Mazarin, and against the person of that minister, in the notion that the people would be more inflamed against him, because he had heard that a similar mode of proceeding had, formerly, contributed greatly to the support of the *League*; without considering that the war of the *League* was a religious war, totally different from this. Thus, the effect, also, which it produced was quite different from what he had expected. His auditors were struck with such apparent horror at the idea of a preacher's daring, from the pulpit, to speak in commendation of a faction in a state, raised by subjects against their lawful sovereign, and to recommend dissension, as being just and reasonable, that, having perceived it himself, he feigned a sudden illness, as a pretext for concluding his sermon the sooner. On the other hand, the people's distrust of the Dutchess de Longueville had risen to so great a height, that they conceived a notion that she had fled privately from Paris, and that Le Feron, the provost of the merchants at that time, whom they suspected equally with the Dutchess, had advised her to take that step: which obliged Le Feron to take refuge in a cloister, and the Dutchess de Longueville to shew herself in public, although she had been brought to bed only a short time before.

All these circumstances, joined with the disgust which the parliament had conceived, at seeing the sums, which they had raised for the payment of the troops, squandered in luxury and ostentation, gave them, at first, an inclination to put an end to

to the war. But the disaffected and the most zealous amongst the *Frondaire*, who were totally averse to negotiating, compelled them to lay aside that design: and, perceiving that their power was not answerable to the hopes which they had entertained, they found themselves compelled to have recourse to the enemies of the state, and to apply, for succours, to the Spaniards, to whom Noirmoutier and De Laigues were sent on that business: and it was on this journey that the intimacy was formed between De Laigues and the Dutchess de Chevreuse*.

The court, upon the receipt of this intelligence, and observing, moreover, that Normandy, Provence, Guyenne and Rheims had already declared in favour of Paris, the confederacy of Provence being headed by the Count de Carce†, who possessed great credit in the province, and that of the parliament of Guyenne by De Sauvebeuf‡ and De Lusignan: the court, I say, being informed of all these commotions, began to make proposals and offers to some individuals of the party, in order to detach them from the interests of the parliament. Marillac, influenced by a regard for his own interest alone, represented to the Dutchess de Longueville that, her credit daily diminishing, through the extreme distrust which was enter-

* Mary de Rohan, daughter of the Duke de Montbazou, and widow of the Constable de Luſſes: her second husband was Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Chevreuse.

† The Count de Carce, a descendant of the house of Gordes, the King's lieutenant in Provence.

‡ Sauvebeuf. He was a person of great reputation for bravery, who lived in the time of the celebrated Count de Bouteville, the father of the Marshal de Luxembourg.

tained of her, she would have still less in future; and, as she was commonly guided by the judgment of others, rather than by her own, he easily persuaded her to listen to the offers and proposals of the court.

This negotiation did not long remain a secret, and no sooner was it discovered, than every one began to treat on his own separate account. Even those, who had entered the deepest into these transactions, were displeased that others should have followed their example; every one being desirous of concluding his own negotiation first, that he might obtain the better terms for himself. The court, therefore, proposed, publickly, that a conference should be held at Ruel, which they rightly judged must prove successful, because so many of the opposite party were disposed to an accommodation: and, indeed, this proposal was made meerly for form sake. The Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor would not give ear to any propositions for a treaty: in consequence of which they acquired great reputation, and continued to be the leaders of a very powerful party, of which they were, in a manner, the masters, for several years.

The Dutcheis de Longueville sent word to her husband that, every one being engaged in negotiating, he ought to think of doing the same; and, afterwards, she complained that he had accommodated matters with the court before her.

By the treaty, which was concluded between the court and the city of Paris, the government of Danvilliers was given to the Prince of Conti, and Marillac was appointed to command there under him, and even to receive all the emoluments. For, at that time, persons of the Prince of Conti's rank
always

always gave up the profits of their governments to their lieutenants.

As soon as Marillac, who was so eager for the conclusion of his own and the Dutchess de Longueville's negotiation, solely that he might the sooner obtain possession of what had been promised him by the court, had effected his purpose, he gave himself no further concern about the interests of the rest of his party. He found in his own all that he sought for, and he always preferred his own advantage before every other consideration. He even reconciled the Dutchess de Longueville to the court's total neglect of her in the above treaty, although she and the Prince of Conti had hastened the conclusion of that peace, on their side, with no other view than to make the more advantageous terms for themselves, and through fear lest they should lose their consequence, if they should delay matters too long; as they plainly perceived that their credit diminished daily more and more.

With respect to the Duke de Longueville, excepting the reversion of his governments which was granted to him for his children, and which was never refused to any person at that time, he obtained nothing from the court. It was for this reason that he so long refused to yield to any accommodation, unless the government of Pont-de-l'Arche was given him, with which demand the court would not comply; because, being but too sensible of the great credit he had acquired in Normandy, they were very careful not to augment it, by giving him this place. But the Prince of Condé, perceiving this difficulty, assured the Duke de Longueville that he would remove it, and that his demand should be granted; that, rather than the

peace should be obstructed, he would even make himself responsible for the performance of this promise, although without giving himself much concern whether he should be able to fulfill his engagement: for he considered the breaking his word as a matter of very little consequence.

The Coadjutor, very humanely, opposed the peace to the utmost of his power, although the Prince of Conti expressed so strong a desire for its completion.

The Duke of Beaufort, also, who was equally as assiduous as the Coadjutor in his endeavours to prevent its taking place, thought he had discover'd an infallible method to effect his purpose, which he proposed to M. de Bellievre for his opinion, asking him whether, if he should give a box on the ear to the Duke of Elbeuf, it might not cause an alteration in the face of affairs: to which M. de Bellievre replied, with a seriousness more becoming his gravity, than the question, that he did not think that it would alter any thing but the face of the Duke of Elbeuf. This affair highly diverted, and caused much laughter amongst those who were present at the conversation, and only served to increase the number of stories which were related of each other, by the different parties, and particularly of the Duke of Beaufort.

Thus ended the first war of Paris, in which city the Prince of Conti and the Dutches de Longueville were reviled in the most outrageous manner: which inspired them with such a strong aversion, both to the *Fronde* and to the parliament, as they could never afterwards divest themselves of: and it even happened that the Prince of Marillac was, more than once, menaced by some of the *Frondeurs*,

deurs, in a manner seldom experienced by persons of his rank.

After it had been agreed, by the majority of the party, that, for the sake of propriety, and to satisfy the people, it would be necessary to send a person to the court, to make a formal requisition of the banishment of Cardinal Mazarin out of the kingdom, as no one would take upon himself this commission, which was, nevertheless, a meer farce only, intended to delude the people, the Count de Maure accepted of it, imagining that they were in earnest in the demand: but, by this action, he filled up the measure of that ridicule which he had already drawn upon himself.

This peace being thus concluded, every one began to reflect that enough had been done by the parliament, during the war, to irritate the Cardinal, but not enough to shelter themselves from his resentment: and, hence, the conduct of those gentlemen was greatly blamed, in making the peace just at that juncture, and in not concluding it either at an earlier or a later period, than that which they had fixed on for its accomplishment. For, it is certain that, if they had properly availed themselves of the advantage, which the possession of so many important posts, in the neighbourhood of Paris, at one time gave them, they might have obtained much more favourable terms for themselves: or, they ought, at least, to have waited some time, seeing that the city was no longer in any danger of being reduced to famine; that several other provinces were on the point of joining those which had already declared in their favour, and, finally, that, the court, being forced, by the season,

season, to withdraw their troops, in order to send them to the frontiers, to act against the Spaniards, must, of necessity, have treated with them (the parliament) on their own conditions: whereas, in consequence of their having so badly timed the business, every thing turned out in a quite contrary manner. With respect to this peace, with which neither of the parties, nor any one of the individuals, of whom they were composed, was satisfied, another observation may be made; which is that, if nothing is more flattering and seductive, than the beginnings of such sorts of intrigues, to those who enter into them, it must be acknowledged, also, that nothing is so proper to remove the error as their conclusions, by exhibiting the reverse of every thing which those persons had, at first, proposed to themselves. The war of Paris being now at an end, the Dutchess went to court; fully persuaded that, the peace having been her work, alone, she should meet with a most gracious reception: but she found on the contrary, that nothing was remembered there, but the war which she had raised and maintained.

The Queen, therefore, received her with much coolness, and Cardinal Mazarin paid her a visit, for the sole purpose of thanking her, in a public manner, for having been, on all occasions, more favourable to him than all the others, who, like her, had entered into an opposition to his party; rightly imagining that he should, by this means, discredit her with her own. Every one was of the same opinion, when they heard him make her such a compliment.

The Prince of Condé neither went to pay her a visit nor to present her at court, as it was believed
he

he had promised, excusing himself on account of illness: which made the Dutchess de Longueville suspect that it was only a pretext. She complained so much of his conduct in this respect, that he was obliged, at length, to wait on her; his mouth and cheeks being so much swelled, that it was but too visible that his illness was not feigned.

The Prince of Condé, since the war of Paris, perceiving that the Dutchess de Longueville governed the Prince of Conti, that she had an influence over the Duke, her husband, and that she was, in a manner, at the head of a numerous party, judged that she might be serviceable to him, and, with the same facility, re-accommodated matters with that Princess, for whom he ever afterwards appeared to entertain a great esteem. He admitted her into the most important affairs, and, from this time, they constantly acted in concert.

The Prince of Condé was charmed with the hatred which the Parisians bore to him, and with having been able to persuade some of them, who had come to St. Germain, that his sole diet was ears of the citizens of Paris. He piqued himself so much on his contempt for the city of Paris, that he determined to go thither alone, before the court.

This hatred, which he so much derided, nevertheless embarrassed him: in order that he might be safe in the city, he caused a report to be spread, underhand, that he had had a disagreement with the Cardinal, and, before he went thither, proposed to hold conferences with the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor, both of whom fell into the snare. He, accordingly, came to Paris, and he had interviews with those persons, as he had proposed: but

no

no sooner had he departed from the city, than all further talk was dropt, both of his reconciliation with the *Frondeurs*, and of his quarrel with the Cardinal.

The parliament, whom that Prince would have ruined, and who had declared themselves so openly, his enemies, debased themselves so much, on the present occasion, as to send a deputation, to compliment him on his arrival: which circumstance gave birth to a number of publications, censuring them for this resolution, as it had not been carried unanimously: but, as it was decided by a plurality of voices, the lesser number was necessarily obliged to yield to the greater.

In a short time afterwards, the Dutchess de Chevreuse returned to France, with equal dispatch and secrecy, and without communicating her intention to the court. Immediately upon her arrival, Cardinal Mazarin, imagining that she might be serviceable to him, in the present juncture, acquainted her that the Queen was desirous that she should come to court, where she met with a very gracious reception, and was even presented with a sum of money.

She had been absent from the kingdom for the space of between fourteen and fifteen years, save two or three months only, at the commencement of the regency, in consequence of which, she was become, in a manner, a stranger in France: but such was her genius and skill in political intrigues, that, in a very short time after her return, she had established a great reputation, and had acquired a very considerable number of powerful friends, all of whom placed an unlimited confidence in her judgment and conduct.

The

The Prince of Condé thought that his honour required, that he should bring back the King and Queen to Paris, and the Cardinal, also, judged that it was for the interest of the regency that they should return to the city. But there still existed a certain cabal amongst the *Frondeurs*, who possessed an absolute credit with the people and with the *Fronde*. It was necessary, therefore, in order to insure the success of the design, first to enter into a negotiation with this cabal.

M. Servien was, accordingly sent, previously, to Paris, and he applied himself first to the Duke of Beaufort, being persuaded, from the character which had been given him of that nobleman, that it would be no difficult matter to obtain from him whatever he should ask. But, contrary to his expectation, the Duke, nevertheless, resisted for some time: however, at length, he suffered himself to be overcome, and consented to every thing that was required of him; which was, simply, that he should attempt nothing further against the Cardinal, and that he should desist from all opposition, in future, to the measures of the court, in return for all which docility, no other promise was made him, than that he should be graciously received by the King and the Queen. On this occasion, it was observed that the Coadjutor, who regulated the Duke of Beaufort, in the same manner as a watch is regulated, had wound him up for two hours only, because he had resisted for no longer a time.

As for the Coadjutor, he would listen to no proposals; but, perceiving that it would scarcely be possible for him to prevent the return of the court to Paris, he contented himself with intimating, that he should not make any opposition to it. The
King

King and the Queen, accordingly returned to Paris on the 18th of August 1649. The peace of Paris being thus concluded, it was now become necessary to consider on the means of effecting that of the provinces. The affairs of Rouen had been accommodated at the same time with those of Paris, and the Duke de Longueville had obtained for the parliament of that province, the abolishment of the half-yearly sittings, to which they had been restricted a few years before.

Cardinal Mazarin was desirous that the parliament of Provence should obtain better conditions than the governor, although the latter had supported the interests of the court. His reason for this was in order to disgust the governor to that degree, as to force him to yield him up his government, which lay on the rout to Italy; and he also sought, thereby, to do a pleasure to the parliament, whom he wished to render favourable to him, when he should have obtained the government of that province: but the Prince of Condé, who interested himself in behalf of the Count d'Alais*, who was his first cousin, obliged the Cardinal to act, in the affair, in a manner directly contrary to what he had intended.

In Guyenne it happened quite otherwise. The Cardinal was inclined to favour the Duke d'Epernon†, who was governor of the province, with the view of promoting a match between one of his nieces and the Duke de Candale‡: but the Prince

* Dangoulême, Count d'Alais, the governor of Provence.

† Bernard de Nogaret, Duke d'Epernon.

‡ Louis-Charles-Gaston de Nogaret, Duke de Candale. He died in 1658.

of Condé once more frustrated his eminency's designs, and the negotiation of the parliament was concluded upon better terms than that of the governor.

The Cardinal, enraged to find himself thus held in subjection, and thwarted on every occasion, by the Prince of Condé, conceived a hatred to him, little short of that which the Prince's enemies bore to his Highness, and of that, which that minister entertained against those who constantly opposed all his measures.

A short time after the conclusion of the peace of Paris, the Duke de Vendôme * proposed to Cardinal Mazarin the marriage of his son, the Duke de Mercœur, to one of his eminency's nieces, on condition that he should give him the admiralship. But the Duke of Beaufort made so strong an opposition to this marriage, fearing lest it should destroy his credit with the people, that he caused the design to be instantly laid aside; he being so powerful that it was deemed dangerous to offend him. But, in the month of September, whether the Duke of Beaufort had consented to the marriage, or whether his concurrence was now judged less necessary than before, on account of the daily decrease of the credit of the *Frondeurs*, this affair was again brought upon the carpet; and it was even carried

* César, Duke de Vendôme, a natural son of Henry the IVth, and grand-father of the present Messrs. de Vendôme. He died in 1665.

† Louis, Duke de Mercœur, afterwards Cardinal de Vendôme, governor of Provence. He was the father of the present Duke de Vendôme, and the grand prior of France. He died in 1669.

so far, that application was made for the marriage license.

The last person who held the admiralty was the Duke de Brezé*, brother-in-law of the Prince of Condé, who had also solicited that post, but had been refused it: however, he had been so very urgent in his demand, that, instead of that post, the court gave him the government of Stenail, and even specified that it was in lieu of the admiralty. 'Tis true that the Prince of Condé, perceiving his power to be boundless, still retained his pretensions to that office, being constantly of opinion that the court would not dare to refuse him any thing, whatever, which he should demand with earnestness.

This post had continued vacant ever since the death of the Duke de Brezé. And, when the Prince of Condé learnt that it was to be given to the Duke de Mercœur, he was so much enraged, that he determined, at all events, to prevent it: and the pretext which he made use of for quarrelling with the Cardinal on the occasion, was his not having given the government of Pont-de-l'Arche to the Duke de Longueville, although, till then, he had not, in the least, concerned himself about that affair.

The Cardinal replied to this complaint, that he could not see with what reason his Highness could charge him with having entered into such an engagement with the Duke de Longueville, seeing that the Queen had never given him any orders on the subject. Upon receiving this answer, the Prince

* Urban Maillé, Duke de Brezé, high admiral, and marshal of France. He died in 1650.

of Condé sent him a message, acquainting him, in plain terms, that, being weary of bearing the public hatred on his account, he was determined that he should retire from the court, and that he should depart the kingdom.

All France tendered itself to the Prince of Condé, excepting the Dukes de Vendôme and d'Epemon. The president de Bellièvre* made him proffers of the services of the whole *Fronde*. All the *Frondeurs* waited on him separately; and 'tis said that he promised each of them to join with their party, to procure the banishment of the Cardinal, whom he affected to turn into ridicule in all cases; and, by way of reproaching him with his cowardice, he, one day, in quitting the Queen's presence, said to him, with a tone and gesture of the utmost derision, "Adieu Mars!" together with many other injurious expressions, which he used to him on every occasion.

The Cardinal, finding himself deserted almost by every one of his party, hated by the whole kingdom, and plainly foreseeing that his ruin was inevitable, unless he accommodated matters with the Prince of Condé, began a negotiation for that purpose.

The Dutchess de Longueville, who mortally hated the *Fronde*, ever since the war of Paris, gladly undertook to mediate this accommodation, and it has even been asserted that Marillac obtained a sum of money on the occasion. The Duke de Rohan-Chapot was the person by whom this negotiation was completed, and the terms of it were, that the

* Pomponne de Bellièvre, first president of the parliament of Paris. He died in 1657.

government of Pont de-l'Arche should be given to the Duke de Longueville; that the marriage of the Cardinal's niece with the Duke de Mercœur should be totally laid aside; that neither of the Cardinal's nieces should marry without the consent of the Prince of Condé; that the admiralship should remain vacant; that no post, government, or benefice of value should be given away without his concurrence, and that no promotions whatever should be made in the army, not even amongst the lowest classes of officers, till he had first approved of the appointments. Two copies were made of this treaty, which were signed by the Queen, the Prince of Condé, and Cardinal Mazarin; one of which copies was delivered to his Highness, and the other remained in the hands of the Cardinal.

When this treaty was nearly compleated, the Prince of Condé, that he might have a pretext for breaking off all connection with the *Frondeurs*, sent for the president Bellièvre, and told him that he wished to be satisfied in one particular, respecting that party, which was whether, in case, at any time, a disagreement should arise between him and the Duke of Orleans, he might depend on the *Frondeurs* joining with him. To this the president replied, that they were so nearly related, that he could not suppose such an event possible. But, the Prince of Condé insisting on an explicit answer, M. de Bellièvre said that he could not decide upon the question himself, but that he would go and consult the *Frondeurs* on the subject, and would return immediately to his Highness, with their determination.

The *Frondeurs*, after duely deliberating on the matter, knowing, moreover, the propensity of the Prince

Prince of Condé to adjust his differences with the Cardinal whenever he could, in the smallest degree, advantage himself thereby, and still bearing in mind how often he had deceived them; from all these considerations, I say, they were induced to believe that this proposition was made with the sole view of embroiling them with the Duke of Orleans, with whom they were upon very good terms. They determined, therefore, not to sacrifice him to the Prince of Condé, but only to return his Highness an answer, in the mildest, and, at the same time, the most undecisive terms possible; and which was that all the *Frondeurs* were of the same opinion with M. de Bellièvre; that they could not imagine, any more than him, that two Princes of the same family, so nearly related, and who, besides, were both so well intentioned towards the state, could ever become foes to each other; and that, for their parts, they would ever contribute all in their power, to promote that good understanding between them, so necessary to the welfare of the state. The Prince of Condé appeared to be so much offended with this answer, that, totally disregarding every other consideration but that of his resentment, he accommodated his difference with Cardinal Mazarin in the most public manner; declaring that he could put no confidence in persons who had given him plainly enough to understand, that they would not, on any occasion, unite with him against the Duke of Orleans: and thus, without any further ceremony, he broke through all connection with them.

When it was seen that the Prince of Condé sacrificed every thing to Cardinal Mazarin, after having so grossly offended him, every one, even the
most

most unenlighted, plainly perceived that his Highness's ruin was inevitable. He was the only person who had any doubt of it, although, from the double copy of the treaty, of which I have just now spoken, and which had remained a secret between himself, the Queen, and the Cardinal, he ought to have known better than any one, to what degree he had offended that minister.

Soon after the reconciliation of the Prince of Conde with the Cardinal, the Queen granted the *Tabouret* * to the Countess de Fleix, daughter of Madame de Sennecey, one of her [*Dames d'Honneur*] ladies of honour: the Prince of Conti, thereupon, demanded the same privilege for the Princess de Marillac†, as did the Duke of Orleans for Madame de Pons‡, afterwards Dutchess de Richelieu. And, as, at that time, every incident of a public kind caused an emotion in the state, these new pretensions were considered of such consequence, as to occasion a general assembly of the nobility to be called, in order to prevent their taking place: which measure the Cardinal secretly promoted, imagining that the assembly would certainly determine against the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of

* The word, *Tabouret*, literally signifies a *low stool or seat*, and is here meant to express a privilege to sit in the royal presence.

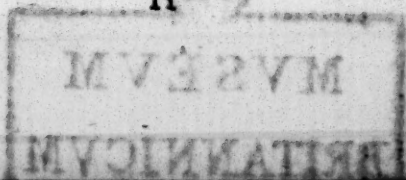
† Andrée de Vivonne, [*Dame*] Lady of the Manor of Chataigneraye, Princess de Marillac, and afterwards Dutchess de la Rochefoucault. She died in 1670.

‡ Anne Pouffart de Fort du Vigean, younger sister of the Mademoiselle du Vigean, so much celebrated for her beauty, and widow of Francis-Alexander d'Albert, [*Sire*] Lord of the Manor of Pons. She afterwards married the Duke de Richelieu.

Conti. But every thing turned out quite otherwise: for, no sooner were they assembled, than, forgetting the subject on which they had met, they began to *frondize* against the Cardinal: which circumstance induced him to exert himself still more, to procure their dissolution, than he had before done, to cause them to be convoked, and the affair of the *Tabourets* was suffered to drop.

After these assemblies had been dissolved, the kingdom appeared to be in a kind of calm, with which few persons were satisfied: and, by insensible degrees, all that hatred, which the people had entertained against the Cardinal, was transferred to the Prince of Condé and his family, to which they themselves contributed, more than all their enemies. For they had, at last, discovered, that it was both unnecessary and ridiculous for them to endeavour to obtain the affections of the people. And 'tis certain that, at that time, the Prince of Condé was more ambitious of gaining battles than of winning hearts.

Both in public and private life, their manners were so disgusting, that it was impossible to hold any communication with them. They, on every occasion, affected such contemptuous gestures, and used such offensive language, as rendered them insupportable to every one. In the visits which were paid them, they expressed, by their behaviour, so much disregard and contempt for the company, that it was plain to be seen that they took every method to get rid of them. Of whatever quality the persons were, who, at any time, waited on the Prince of Condé, they were obliged to remain a very considerable time in the anti-chamber, before



they could obtain admission to him, and he, very frequently, after having detained them thus long, would dismiss them, without permitting any one to see him. When offended, they set no bounds to their resentment, and they were totally incapable of gratitude for the services which were rendered them. And thus were they equally hated by the court, the *Fronde*, and the people, and no one could hold any commerce with them. The whole kingdom impatiently brooked their bad conduct, and especially their pride, which was excessive.

But if the people's hatred to them was great, their fear was still greater. To form a proper idea of it, a person must have been witness to it. All would gladly have been freed from them, but no one had courage enough to attempt the means.

Moreover, the chiefs of the *Fronde*, whom neither persecution nor the blockade had been able to depress, sunk of themselves, when no longer opposed: which circumstance arose as much from the King's being present in the city, as from the neglect into which they had fallen with the people. Thus, judging that some new scheme must be adopted, to revive their zeal, they determined to send the Marquis de la Boulaye, to spread a report through the city, that a design had been formed to assassinate the Duke of Beaufort, after which he was to endeavour to excite the people to take arms. But this produced not the least tumult amongst the people: and the only consequence, with which it was attended, was an order from the court, for seizing the person of La Boulaye, who was obliged to conceal himself, to avoid imprisonment; and

FH

MVSEVM

BRITANNICVM

and perceiving that this design had failed, they determined to try the success of another.

Joli, a creature of the Coadjutor's, who was one of the syndics, nominated by the proprietors of the fund of the Hotel de Ville, complained to the parliament that an attempt had been made to assassinate him; that he was much wounded, and that this had happened in consequence, solely, of the zeal which he had manifested in the service of the proprietors, whom the court had endeavoured to deprive of the interest due to them from the fund. As it was believed that what he asserted was not true, those of the parliament, who espoused the party of the court, prevailed on the assembly to order that one of their members should be deputed, to examine into the state of his wounds: a person was accordingly sent, but Joli declared, that his wounds had been already dressed, and constantly persisted in his refusal to shew them to him; which discovered the falsity of the whole affair.

This incident was succeeded by another, of still greater importance, and which was attended with far more material consequences. The Prince of Condé, going to the *Palais Royal*, as he was accustomed to do every evening, was acquainted by the Cardinal that he had received intelligence, that the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor had stationed some persons in the *Place Dauphine*, who were to assassinate his Highness, on his return to the Hotel de Condé. M. Servien, also, soon afterwards, brought the Prince the same information, pretending not to know that the Cardinal had already made him acquainted with the matter. Both of them advised the Prince to send his coach back with some person in it, in order to discover whe-

ther the intelligence was true, and that, in the mean time, he should continue at the *Palais Royal*, to wait the event. One of the footmen of M. de Duras was, therefore, put into the coach, and it has been asserted that, in the *Place Dauphine*, a shot was fired into the carriage, which killed him on the spot.

The *Frondeurs* have always maintain'd that he received no hurt whatever, and that care had been taken to secret him. As the real state of this transaction was never properly brought to light, and as the matter has always appeared very doubtful, I shall simply relate the various reports which were spread at the time, without pretending to give my own opinion on the subject; and shall leave every one the liberty of forming his own judgment, according as the circumstances shall appear to him. The most current opinion was, at the time, that the Prince of Condé had schemed this pretended assassination, with the view of, thereby, compelling the leaders of the *Frondeurs* to quit Paris, and of getting the city into his own hands. What chiefly induced a belief that the *Frondeurs* were not concerned in forming this design was, that six men on horseback had stationed themselves in the *Place Dauphine*, at so early an hour as between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and, when they were questioned for what purpose they came there, they replied that the Duke of Beaufort had sent them. And, indeed, it is pretty plain that they were desirous of being taken notice of; for, otherwise, there was no necessity whatever for their coming thither so early, to kill the Prince of Condé, who never returned home from the *Palais Royal* till two hours after midnight.

On

On the other hand, what rendered the *Frondeurs* suspected on this occasion was that, although the Duke of Beaufort was deemed incapable of countenancing an assassination of this nature, yet the same opinion was not entertained of the Coadjutor, who did not acquaint the Duke with all his designs, and also that it was seen that the party had of late set on foot several schemes, such as those of Joli and La Boulaye: and the latter was even accused of firing the shot, by which the footman of De Duras was killed. It did not seem probable that the Cardinal should have sought to assassinate the Prince of Condé, as he was the person who gave him the first intelligence of the design: besides, that he was of a very different disposition from that of which some of his countrymen are suspected, with regard either to revenge, or to deeds of murder or poisoning. Another report, and which was most generally credited in the end, was that the Cardinal had forged this plot, with the view of rendering his Highness irreconcilable with the *Frondeurs*, and of working his ruin with the greater facility, which he afterwards effected.

The Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor waited on the Prince of Condé, to compliment him on his escape from the pretended attempt to assassinate, without seeming to know that they were accused of being parties in the design. But, as soon as he heard that they were coming up stairs, he hastily quitted the company, and retired into his closet: and, after having made them wait a considerable time, he sent them a message, that he could not admit them to an audience. After this he laid a public complaint against them before the parliament. The *Frondeurs*, not a little embarrassed

to find themselves thus closely pushed, and perceiving, moreover, that their affairs were in a very unfavourable situation at court, employed several persons to negotiate with the Prince of Condé, but he returned the most haughty answers, to all the applications which were made to him, purporting that he was absolutely determined that they should retire from Paris.

The *Frondeurs* represented to him that it would be derogatory to his dignity, to persist in accusing them of having hired persons to assassinate him, as they could, with ease, prove their innocence, and that La Boulaye was at a considerable distance from the *Place Dauphine*, at the time when the affair happened. The Prince of Condé, with his customary haughtiness, replied only, that such eclairsissements would be of no signification, as, whether innocent or culpable, he was resolved that they should depart the city, and that he thought them very impertinent thus to dispute his commands. He was delighted with the idea that the Queen had not been able to compel them to retire from Paris, although they were upon bad terms with her, and that they should now be necessitated to take that step, in consequence of their disagreement with him.

They also sent Noirmoutier and Fosseuse to the Princess Dowager of Condé, to whom those gentlemen had the honour to be related, in hopes that this consideration might influence her in their favour. But they found themselves mistaken, and she, in the same tone, answered that the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor were very insolent, thus to persist in continuing in the city, when it was
her

her son's pleasure that they should retire from it. Those gentlemen represented to her, that none but the King had the power to banish from the city, persons un-convicted of any crime, particularly persons of the character and quality of those in question, and, finally, that even the Queen herself had permitted them to remain there. To this she replied, in a violent rage, that there was a difference between the Prince of Condé and the Mazarin, and that, however other Princes of the blood might have suffered their commands to be disputed, her son was not of that disposition.

The party sent another message to the Prince of Condé, acquainting him that they should make no scruple to obey his commands, but that their honour required that they should first justify themselves from the accusation which was brought against them. But to this they received no answer, and the Prince, giving a loose to his resentment, prosecuted the affair in the parliament, against the *Frondeurs*, with the most unremitting ardour.

The Dutchess de Longueville and Marillac rejoiced in the embarrassment to which the *Frondeurs* were now reduced: but the Duke de Longueville's sentiments on the matter were widely different, and he exerted all his endeavours, to prevail on the Prince of Condé to drop all further prosecution of the affair; because that the Coadjutor had been very assiduous in cultivating his favour, ever since the time that the Prince of Condé broke through all his connections with that party, to re-unite himself with the court. And what chiefly induced the Duke to this conduct was the great disagreement which subsisted between him and his wife, and which the

Coadjutor did not attempt to accommodate: but, although he entertained a violent hatred to her, she, nevertheless, possessed no small influence over him.

The Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe had, ſince her return to France, entered into a very ſtrict commerce and connection with the *Frondeurs*; and that becauſe thoſe who are fond of cabals naturally ſeek each other. It was through the means of De Laigues and Noirmoutier, with whom ſhe became acquainted in Flanders, and alſo on occaſion of the Coadjutor's attachment to her daughter, that ſhe formed theſe connections. She, therefore, began to conſider ſeriouſly of the meaſures proper to be taken, for the execution of a deſign, which ſhe had projected ſince her return, to reconcile the *Frondeurs* with the court againſt the Prince of Condé, for whom, ſhe plainly perceived, Cardinal Mazarin could never entertain a friendſhip. Although the Prince of Condé's power was conſiderable, yet it was not ſo much ſo as moſt people conjectured. It is very certain that imagination muſt have had a great ſhare in rendering him thus formidable, and that thoſe who feared him to ſuch a degree, muſt have been poſſeſſed with uncommon weakneſs and ignorance.

The Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe, who had been ſo long abſent in Flanders, and who was not prepoſſeſſed with this univerſal belief and dread of his power, which thoſe who had continued in the kingdom entertained, judged more rationally of the matter. It was this, alſo, which cauſed her to act againſt him with the greater reſolution, and to propoſe his imprifonment. After ſome previous ſteps had been taken by this lady, the Coadjutor came, in diſguiſe, to confer with Cardinal Mazarin. The

Prince

Prince of Condé, having been made acquainted with this circumstance, took notice of it to the Cardinal, who ridiculed, in the strongest manner, the Co-adjutor and his cavalier's habit, his white feathers, and his crooked legs; adding that, if he should come to him a second time, so disguised, he would send his Highness word, that he might conceal himself in such a manner, as to get a sight of him, and that this would divert him. By this means he so effectually deceived the Prince, that his Highness entertained not the least suspicion whatever of the truth, and still continued his criminal process against the *Frondeurs*, without any apprehension of the design which was forming against him.

But that which most embarrassed the execution of this design was, the absolute necessity of obtaining the consent of the Duke of Orleans thereto, in quality of lieutenant-general of the regency: and the Duke was entirely guided by the Abbé de la Riviere*, who appear'd to be as much dependent on the Prince of Condé, as if he had been his domestic, and that for the reasons which I shall here relate.

Cardinal Mazarin having promised La Riviere to procure him a Cardinal's hat, although he was not at all inclined to make good his promise, he contrived matters so that the Prince of Condé should demand the hat for the Prince of Conti. The Cardinal imagined, moreover, that this would occasion a great breach between the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé: but this ill-judged stroke of po-

* Louis Barbier, Abbé de la Riviere, the chief favourite of the Duke of Orleans: some time before his death, he was created Bishop and Duke of Langres.

licy produced a quite contrary effect, to what his eminency had expected from it.

The Prince of Condé acquainted La Riviere, that this design had been suggested to him by the Cardinal, who made him (the Abbé) his dupe; that he did not at all concern himself about obtaining the hat for his brother; and that he would either dispute it or yield it to him, according as the Duke of Orleans should conduct himself towards him (the Prince): and, as this would have been a very considerable preferment for La Riviere, he, from that time, constantly disposed his master, blindly to follow the sentiments and the interests of the Prince of Condé.

It was necessary, therefore, to the execution of the design, which had been projected against the Prince, that the influence of the favourite should be totally destroyed; which seemed impossible to be effected, on account of the length of time, during which his reputation with the Duke had been established, and that, from the above period, nothing was done but by his advice.

The Dutches de Chevreuse, however, was not discouraged by all these difficulties. The first step she took was to incite *Madame* * to speak against the Abbé, whom she did not like. As great as the Cardinal's credit was, he dared not intermeddle in the affair, and I am even doubtful whether, with all the assiduity which each one exerted, they would have been able to have succeeded, but for the Prince of Condé himself, who, according to his

* Margaret de Lorraine, Dutches of Orleans, sister of the Grand-Duke, Charles de Lorraine. She died in 1672.

usual custom, prejudiced his affairs more than his enemies had done.

The Duke de Richelieu * conceived a passion for Madame de Pons, although she was rather ugly in her person, and far from being young. She was so well instructed by the family of Condé, to whom she communicated the matter, in confidence, that she prevailed on the Duke to marry her. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated at Trie, and, immediately afterwards, proper persons were dispatched to seize upon Havre, in the name of the Duke de Richelieu: for the Dutchess d'Aiguillon † still kept possession of that place, in quality of guardian to her nephew.

This event occasioned a great disturbance at court, but much less on account of the marriage, than on account of the seizure of Havre, the one being of much greater importance than the other. On the receipt of this intelligence, the court affected to propagate a report, that the Duke de Longueville had now made himself master of the whole province of Normandy, that he intended to render himself independent there, and that he had long conceived that design, although it had never once entered his mind. To this was added, that the Prince of Condé had taken up his quarters in Burgundy, and that there were few parts of the kingdom in which he had not an influence; and of which he might not render himself master.

Although the Duke of Orleans suffered himself to be led by others, in a very great degree, yet he,

* Armand Wignerod, Duke de Richelieu.

† Mary de Wignerod, Dutchess d'Aiguillon; she died in 1675.

nevertheless, possessed a considerable share of penetration: thus he readily conceived that, if the whole of these reports was not true, yet some of them might be sufficiently founded, to prejudice his interests. The *Frondeurs* afterwards discovered to him that what emboldened the Prince of Condé so much in his undertakings was, a firm persuasion that La Riviere would engage him (the Duke) to concur in all his measures: and, perceiving that this discourse began to disgust him against his favourite, they continued to represent the Abbé's conduct in such a light, that they, at length, effected his ruin. They afterwards shewed the Duke of Orleans a copy of the last treaty between the court and the Prince of Condé, who had, in a manner, forced Cardinal Mazarin to subscribe his consent to it, and which was totally destructive of the privileges and authority annex'd to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom: which confirmed the Duke in his determination to consent to the imprisonment of the Prince of Condé.

The Dutchess d'Aiguillon was the first person who had the courage to propose this measure, and the Coadjutor, afterwards, negotiated the affair with the Dutchess de Chevreuse, without admitting the first mentioned lady to have any share whatever in it.

The Queen and Cardinal Mazarin constantly manifested a strong sense of the pretended attempt on the Prince of Condé's life, and a great readiness to assist him in obtaining justice: but the Duke of Orleans, far from shewing the same disposition, and from giving his attendance at the *Palais*, as he had at first done, having one day gone up the steps as far as the Holy Chapel, pretended to be taken suddenly ill, and returned home. On the next day he

he sent a message to the parliament, acquainting them that he could no longer attend their assemblies, on account of his illness. The Prince of Condé, perceiving this alteration, reproached La Riviere on the subject, who made the best excuses he could, but without confessing that he had lost all influence with his master.

The Prince of Condé, imagining that he had rendered Cardinal Mazarin totally contemptible, was desirous of exposing the Queen, also, to ridicule, from an opinion that every one would, in consequence, abandon her; and, with this view, he persuaded the Marquis de Jarzay, that her Majesty entertained a particular regard for him, that he ought to pursue his good fortune, and, in short, he said so much to him on the subject, that he prevailed on him to make a declaration of love to that Princess, in a letter which, in concert with Madame de Beauvais, he contrived to lay upon the Queen's toilet. It is certain that no one, but a man so prepossess'd with a good opinion of his person and accomplishments, and so desirous of making his court to the Prince of Condé, could have been capable of such an action, and in which his vanity, and his blind confidence in the Prince, could, alone, have made him hope for success: for, in other respects, he was a man of sense and merit. But it is plain that the Prince of Condé availed himself, on this occasion, of Jarzay's inconsiderate attachment to him, in order to sacrifice him to his interests, and that the infatuation of Jarzay prevented his discovering the design and artifice of the Prince of Condé.

When the Queen had read Jarzay's letter, she concluded.

concluded that no one but himself was concern'd in this extravagant action, and that it would be more proper to dismiss him from the court on some other pretext, than to suffer this affair to occasion any disturbance. But, when she learnt that the whole was a contrivance of the Prince of Condé's, and that he made a jest of the affair on all occasions, even to converting it into a subject of table talk in his debauches, she became so enraged, that she gave orders that Jarzay should be publicly prohibited from ever appearing in her presence in future.

The Prince of Condé, with that haughtiness of which he never cou'd abate a title with any one whatsoever, came to Cardinal Mazarin, and told him that he was absolutely determined that the Queen should admit Jarzay to see her that very day. It was in vain that the Cardinal represented to him that, after receiving such an insult, the woman of the lowest rank whatever would never be prevailed on to act in that manner: his Highness replied only, according to his usual custom at that time, that it must be so nevertheless, seeing that it was his pleasure. The Queen was, therefore, compelled to receive Jarzay, but the Prince's audacity only served to hasten his imprisonment; the court having been more irritated by this circumstance, than by all that his Highness had done or attempted before that time.

The Prince of Condé, continuing thus, as usual, to affront the Queen, to insult Cardinal Mazarin, and to carry matters to the last extremities against the *Frondeurs*, seemed to live, nevertheless, in as much security, as if his conduct had not been, in the least, calculated to create himself enemies, and

as if he had had nothing to fear. From hence it is very apparent, that most great Princes, and even those who, in the sequel of their lives, exhibit the strongest marks of moderation and wisdom in their conduct, are as much infatuated with the notion of their being feared, as beautiful women, or those who fancy themselves such, are self-persuaded of the universal power of their charms, and that it is as difficult to undeceive the one as the other.

What ought still more to have alarmed the Prince of Condé was, that, in the informations against those who were accused of being concerned in the attempt to assassinate him, the name of that worthy man Broussel was included: and, as his character sat him above even the suspicion of such a design, it was easy to perceive, that this had been done with no other view, than to render his Highness compleatly odious to the people, who still adored that old man.

All these circumstances created such apprehensions in the minds of those who were attached to the house of Condé, that many persons made the strongest representations thereon to his Highness. But their advice was so ill received that, upon the seventeenth time of the matter's being mentioned to him, he observed, that that was the seventeenth foolish thing which had been said to him that day, on the same subject. One less persuaded, than the Prince was, of his power and influence, would certainly have considered the affair in a different light, and have made some serious reflections, to his advantage, on what had been so frequently suggested to him.

A person had been taken, at some distance from Paris, whose name was Coutures, who, it was pretended,

tended, had been concerned in the intended assassination of the Prince of Condé: and it was determined to bring him into the city through the gate de Richelieu. Cardinal Mazarin acquainted the Prince, that he had received information that the *Frondeurs* proposed to rescue the prisoner, lest he should witness against them; that it would, therefore, be necessary to station an armed force at that gate, in order to prevent the execution of their design; and that, as it was his Highness's concern, it was proper that his troops should be employed on that service, as the Queen could not always appear openly in his defence. The Prince of Condé fell into the snare, and, judging that the affair would be better conducted by the King's troops, insisted that they should be employed for that purpose. On which the Cardinal replied, that his Highness must then give them orders to obey whatever commands they should receive on the occasion: to which the Prince consented, and which he executed but too exactly: for the command which they received was to conduct him, as a prisoner, to the forest of Vincennes. But, as the design of seizing the Prince's person could not be executed without the consent of the *Frondeurs*, the court was compelled to treat with them: and, although embarrassed with the criminal process, which was carrying on against them, they, nevertheless, forced the Cardinal to purchase their acquiescence at a pretty high price.

With respect to the Coadjutor, the greater his interest was with the court, the more he endeavoured to conceal it. However, he would not reject the offers of two governments for his friends, who were to be responsible for the concurrence of the party. Laigues was promised a post in the household

household of the Duke of Anjou*, when it should be established, the seals were to be given to M. de Chateaufort, and a military command to some one of the *Fronde*, who should be afterwards fixed on.

It was judged improper to trust a secret of such importance to a man of the character of the Duke of Beaufort; besides, it was feared that he would reveal it to some of the female sex: but, as nothing could be effected without his concurrence, the Coadjutor declared that it was absolutely necessary to inform him of the matter, and that he would contrive the means of acquainting him with it, without any risque. For the same reason also, of the necessity of his concurrence in the design, a stipulation was made, that the reversion of the admiralship should be granted to him, together with a considerable pension, which he should enjoy till he should come into possession of the above post, that is to say, after the death of his brother, to whom it had been given. The Coadjutor represented to him, in a circumstantial manner, the situation to which their party was reduced, by the rigorous and violent conduct of the Prince of Condé. He afterwards told him that he had had thoughts of proposing the seizure of the Prince's person to Cardinal Mazarin, who he knew entertained a strong aversion to him: but, at the same time, he gave the Duke to understand, that he should think no more of that design, unless he should testify his approbation of it; according to his usual manner of proceeding with that nobleman, which was constant-

* Phillip de France, the King's brother, afterwards Duke of Orleans: he died suddenly, at Saint Cloud, in 1701.

ly to make him believe that he never undertook any measure but by his advice, although, in fact, he was accustomed to lead him like a child.

The Duke of Beaufort expressed himself highly pleased with the design; upon which the Coadjutor, feigning to adopt it merely because the Duke judged it to be expedient, assured him that he would go immediately about the execution of it. This affair had been first communicated to him in his coach, and the precaution had even been taken to leave the Marquis de Laigues with him, who never quitted him, and who accompanied him up and down the streets, without suffering him to alight from his carriage, to go into any house, lest he should reveal this negotiation to any one; so incapable was he deemed of keeping the least secret whatever.

The Coadjutor, after some time, returned to acquaint him with his success: he assured him that, in pursuance of his advice, he had negotiated matters so effectually, that, in less than an hour, the Princes would be taken into custody, and that, this being effected, it would be necessary that he should shew himself in the streets, in order to encourage the people by his presence.

Although this negotiation was very quickly concluded, considering the importance of the affair, yet he made no doubt of the reality of it, placing an implicit confidence in what was told him, and not being, moreover, of a character to examine into matters so very scrupulously. But, when common sense had made him acquainted with the manner in which this treaty had been concluded, he could not brook the having been thus duped: and, as he was more addicted to vanity than to a regard for
his

his interest, even the reversion of the admiralship could not appease his resentment. From this time, he conducted himself with great coolness towards the Coadjutor, who, on his side, gave himself no great concern about him, and even totally abandoned him in the end, from a persuasion that he would never be able to effect a reconciliation with the court. But the Duke himself, on the presumption that he had made his peace with the court, imagined that the favour of the people would be no further useful to him; and, therefore, without making any further attempts to render himself, or to appear popular, he now directed all his aims towards the attainment of the character of a good courtier, and it began to appear, that his pretensions to sincerity and probity were not altogether so well founded, nor established, as he had endeavoured to persuade the world.

But to return to the imprisonment of the Princes*: they all three came, as usual, together to the council; and, that the Duke de Longueville might not fail of attending also, and that he might be detained a prisoner at the same time with the two others, a promise was made him, that the reversion of the post of the King's lieutenant of Upper Normandy should be granted him, he having long solicited it for the son of De Beuvron†.

Many of their friends had advised them never to go all three together to the council; but they despised this caution, as also many others, of a si-

* On the 18th of January 1650.

† M. d'Harcourt, Marquis de Beuvron. He died in 1690. He was the father of the Marshal d'Harcourt, captain of the body-guards.

milar nature, which had been given them, both before and at the time of their imprisonment.

The Queen obliged them to go, on that day, to the council before her; and, as they entered the gallery in which it was held, they were put under arrest. They were all three conducted down the back stairs; and were conveyed in De Guitaut's * coach, under an escort commanded by Mioffan†, to the castle of Vincennes.

This event caused so great and so universal a joy throughout the whole kingdom of France, over which the news of it was quickly spread, that there was not one, even of the lowest of the citizens, who did not make a bonfire, on the occasion, before his door; not to mention those which were publicly made in every quarter of the city of Paris.

* Francis de Comminges de Guitaut, captain of the Queen-mother's guards.

† Cæsar-Phœbus d'Albret, Count de Mioffan, a Marshal of France: he died in 1676.

End of Part the First.

M E M O I R S

OF THE

DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.

PART THE SECOND.

THE Dutchess de Longueville, whom it had been propos'd to seize, at the same time that the Princes were put under arrest, fled into Normandy*, accompanied by Mademoiselle de Longueville†, in order to attempt something in favour of the prisoners. But, instead of meeting with any success in their design, all the people of that province, who, the year before, had declared themselves in favour of the Duke de Longueville, immediately upon his appearing amongst them, received them with so much coolness, that it might have been imagined that they had never heard their names mentioned before. So that these two Princesses, finding that nothing was to be done at Rouen,

* In the year 1650.

† Mary d'Orleans, daughter of Henry d'Orleans, Duke de Longueville, by his first wife, Louisa de Bourbon, eldest daughter of Charles, Count de Soissons. This Princess was married to Henry de Savoy, Duke de Nemours: she died in 1707.

where

where they then were, went from thence to Dieppe, at which place the Dutcheſs de Longueville obſtinately perſiſted in remaining, although ſhe received poſitive aſſurances, that the court had determined to remove thither in a very ſhort time; conſtantly perſuading herſelf, that this intelligence was given her with the ſole view of alarming her fears, and of obliging her to retire from the place: the remembrance of the great credit which ſhe had formerly poſſeſſed there, ſtill operating ſo powerfully on her mind.

Her daughter-in-law, who was not altogether ſo much prepoſſeſſed as herſelf with the notion of this great power and influence, and who, moreover, did not think it becoming the dignity of a perſon of her rank, thus to wander about from place to place, even had ſhe not loved a life of tranquility to the degree ſhe did; and who was, beſides, fully convinced that her preſence could not be of the leaſt benefit to her father's affairs, demanded leave of the Dutcheſs to return to Paris: which requeſt ſhe did not grant without great reluctance. But, as ſhe was not in a condition to enforce obedience to her commands, ſhe dared not reſuſe her daughter-in-law this permiſſion, and Mademoiſelle de Longueville accordingly left her, very little affected with the uneaſineſs which ſhe perceived her departure gave her.

The Queen, then, came into Normandy, contrary to the expectation of the Dutcheſs de Longueville, who was obliged, in conſequence, to withdraw herſelf from thence, in the beſt manner ſhe could.

She had, at firſt, determined to effect her retreat by ſea, but, the wind proving contrary, ſhe narrowly

rowly escaped being drowned: not to mention that the inhabitants of Dieppe, who enjoy very extensive privileges, which they were fearful of losing, threatened to cause their sailors to throw her overboard into the sea.

It is said that those, by whom she was guided in her conduct at this time, advised her to continue thus long at Dieppe, for the sole purpose of deceiving her. She was obliged to remain some time longer in the province, wandering about, and in disguise, before she could find an opportunity of embarking; at length she retired into Holland, from whence she returned to Stenai, of which place the Prince of Condé was governor. M. de Turenne fled thither also, accompanied by La Mouffaye, and several other partizans of the Princes.

The Princess Dowager, mother of the Prince of Condé, was exiled to Chantilly, as was also her daughter-in-law*: but the latter did not continue there long. The adherents of the Prince of Condé, after the King had been in Normandy and Burgundy, prevailed on her Highness to repair to Guienne, whither the Prince, her son, and the Dukes de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucault † accompanied her; and, immediately upon her arrival, the whole province declared in favour of the Princes. But in Normandy it was otherwise; for, as soon as the court appeared in that province, all those places of which the Duke de Longueville was governor, sur-

* Clair de Maillé, Dutchess of Bronsac, and Princess of Condé.

† M. de Marillac now took that title, in consequence of the death of his father, which happened just at this time.

rendered to the King, and the Duke de Richelieu yielded up the possession of Havre to his aunt, the Dutchesse d'Aiguillon.

The court then went into Burgundy, where all those places which belonged to the Prince of Condé, although with some greater degree of resistance, surrendered in like manner. The court next repaired to Guienne, where they met with still less opposition than in Burgundy. The parliament, also, of that province accommodated matters with the court, on this occasion. The Princess of Condé, accompanied by the Prince, her son, and all the other persons who had attended her thither, were permitted to retire to their respective estates.

The Princess Dowager of Condé was advised to attend at the *Palais*, at the *Mercuriale** of the parliament, in order to try whether she could incite them to take some step in favour of the Princes; and she so totally lost sight both of her dignity and of her natural haughtiness, and ran so far into the opposite extreme, that she even debased herself so much, as to tell the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort, who commonly attended on those occasions, that, "as they did her children the honour "to acknowledge them for their relations, she hoped they would take pity on their unhappy condition." But those gentlemen were not at all affected by this action; and the uncommon meanness of it served only to disgust them, as it did all those who were present at the time.

* This term signifies a particular assembly of the parliament, at which the first president delivers an harangue to the members present.

Had

Had that Princess made her application some months later, 'tis possible she might have found the parliament in a better disposition towards her children; but she came at the very time when their resentment against the Princes was at its greatest height. It was owing, therefore, to the unseasonableness of her application that she succeeded so ill, and that she received a fresh order from the court to return to Chantilly.

A few days after the imprisonment of the Prince of Condé, all the *Frondeurs*, who had been accused of the design to assassinate him, were exculpated from the charge in the parliament. It appears that this was done both because they were, in fact, not guilty, and, also, as the Queen had issued orders for that purpose.

The first president, Molé*, who was no friend to the party, could not refrain from telling them that the imprisonment of the Princes was an excellent argument to prove their innocence. The Coadjutor having lived on such friendly terms with the Duke de Longueville, and having received so many obligations from that nobleman, was so much ashamed of having contributed to his imprisonment, that he used all his endeavours, to induce a belief that he had not known any thing of the intention; and when Mademoiselle de Longueville returned to Paris, in her way to the place to which she had been exiled, he paid her a visit, purposely to assure her that the Cardinal had deceived him on the occasion, having given him a positive promise, that her father should be detained in confinement but for a few

* Matthew Molé, first president of the parliament and keeper of the seals: he died in 1656.

days only, after which he should be set at liberty on his parole.

But the court held a very different language on the subject, declaring that it never was intended, at first, to seize the person of the Duke de Longueville; but that the Coadjutor had suggested that that Prince would be dishonoured, if he should not be put under arrest at the same time with his brothers-in-law, that he (the Coadjutor) had even urged the matter very strongly, observing that it would be absolutely expedient to preserve the Duke's honour; and that this was the sole proof which he had given of his friendship for him.

Cardinal Mazarin, who never granted any favour, but when influenced thereto by his fears, deriving fresh courage from the submission of the three provinces, whither the court had repaired, as has been already mentioned, began to give himself little concern about the *Frondeurs*. The first person who found himself neglected was the Duke of Beaufort, who was, also, the first to listen to the proposals for an accommodation with the Princes.

They, on their part, asked him why he would have contributed to their imprisonment, seeing that it was universally known that the whole affair was concealed from him with all possible caution.

This was done with the double view of incensing him to the utmost against the rest of his party, for having manifested so little confidence in him, and, also, of insinuating to him that the Princes could not entertain any resentment against him on the occasion.

During this time, the Dutchess de Longueville, who was at Stenai, at which place was M. de Turenne also, entered into a treaty with the Spaniards,

riards, who engaged to furnish M. de Turenne with a body of troops, to enable him to undertake some enterprize in favour of the Princes, in consideration of which they were put in possession of the city of Stenai, the Princes party retaining only the citadel.

It was also proposed to march a body of troops into Normandy, which were to be commanded by the Marshal de la Mothe. But, when the friends of the Prince of Condé had maturely considered the affair, they determined against that design, through fear, lest it should be productive of the enlargement of the Duke de Longueville, alone, against whom their former discontents began to revive, and that this might be prejudicial to the interests of the other Princes. It had been determined that, as soon as the troops should have entered Normandy, the Count d'Harcourt, who acted there in quality of governor, should be seized, in order to strike the greater terror. The Dutchess de Longueville and the Marchioness de Flavacourt, had concerted all the necessary measures for the execution of this enterprize, of which the Count having received some information, he complained bitterly of the conduct of those ladies on the occasion: but they affected to treat his suspicions with so much ridicule that, every one following their example, he was obliged to be silent on the matter, although he was fully persuaded of the reality of their design against him.

The Coadjutor found, too late, that he had no chance whatever of effecting his accommodation with the court. Most of the articles of his treaty still remain'd unexecuted. It is true, that the government of Mount Olympus had been given to Noirmoutier; but there was no further talk of the

other government, which had been promised him, (the Coadjutor) nor of the title of Duke, which was to have been conferred on one of his friends, although the people of Paris had approved of that prelate's reconciliation with Cardinal Mazarin: because they found themselves, thereby, delivered from the Prince of Conde, whom they hated still more than the Cardinal.

But as the people are naturally very wavering in their opinions, those of Paris, although they had approved, at first, of this reconciliation between the Coadjutor and Cardinal Mazarin, afterwards became very averse to the connection which subsisted between these two men; and their hatred to the minister now returned, with greater force than ever, whilst their antipathy to the Prince of Conde was considerably diminished, by the pity which his imprisonment had created in their minds.

The Coadjutor, therefore, now perceived, not only that it was very unlikely that he should obtain anything from Cardinal Mazarin, but also that his sole dependance for the security of his person was on the Duke of Orleans, with whom he had become a great favourite, since the disgrace of the Abbé de la Riviere.

He exerted all his skill to improve this advantage, and, as he could not expect to possess any consequence in the State, but what he should derive from his connections with the Duke of Orleans, it was for his interest that that Prince should obtain all possible influence with his party. He, therefore, suggested to him the design of getting the three Princes into his hands, and of causing them to be removed to the Bastille.

The court having foreseen this incident, previous to their journey to Guyenne, and judging that the Princes were situated too near at the castle of Vincennes, had already obtained the Duke's consent to their removal to Marcoussin, which was at a greater distance from Paris; and thus under the pretext that M. de Turenne advanced very fast, it not being so easy for the Duke to make himself master of their persons whilst they should continue at Marcoussin; although, had he been inclined to attempt it with vigour, he might have effected it without much difficulty: particularly during the King's absence from Paris. But he chose rather that they should be removed to the Bastille with the consent of the court.

This proposal greatly embarrassed the court and the minister, and they exerted all their endeavours to induce him to relinquish the intention, both by letters and by the agency of such of the ministers as had remained at Paris. But all their attempts proved ineffectual. The Dutchess de Chevreuse, who appeared to be totally devoted to the service of the court, and who had some influence over the Duke of Orleans, also undertook to persuade him to comply with what the Queen required of him: but she was equally unsuccessful with the rest.

The friends of the Princes were not idle at this juncture, and they resumed their negotiations, both with the court and with the *Fronde*; and, perceiving that a rupture was likely to ensue between these two parties, they would have preferred a connection with the court. But, after they had put in practice every method which they could devise, even to the proposing a match between the Prince

of Condé and one of the Cardinal's nieces, they perceived, with infinite regret, that nothing was to be effected on that side. They, therefore, now totally confined themselves to their negotiation with the *Fronde*, and in this too they met with better success.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse listened with pleasure to the proposal which was made to her, of the marriage of the Prince of Conti with her daughter. Madame de Rhodes was the person who first led her to espouse the interests of the Prince of Condé, by giving her hopes of being able to accomplish this marriage, founded on the advantage which that Prince would himself derive therefrom: and it was by this same argument that she remov'd the Dutchess's objections, respecting his known disregard to his engagements, by representing to her that, if she could not trust to his promises, she ought, at least, to place a confidence in that peculiar attachment, which he ever manifested for his own interests.

Immediately upon the imprisonment of the Princes, Madame de Rhodes had waited on the Princess Dowager of Condé, and had promised her that she would render her sons some considerable service: which it was easy for her to do, because M. de Châteauneuf entertained a passion for her, and, as the natural daughter of the Cardinal de Lorraine, she was a niece of the Dutchess de Chevreuse, with whom she was very closely connected. M. de Rhodes, whose widow she was, had always been strongly attached to the house of Condé: but, exclusive of this circumstance, she had contracted such a fondness for political intrigues and cabals, that she rushed headlong into them, without giving herself much concern

tern about their tendency, not to mention, also, the affection, which she herself bore to the family of Condé. For these reasons, it will easily be conceived that she eagerly sought to acquit herself of her promises to the Princess Dowager. As the Coadjutor was doubtful what his situation might be upon the return of the court to Paris, he also readily entered into a negotiation with the Princes.

In the mean time, the court returned to Fontainebleau, whither the Duke of Orleans went to pay his compliments to their Majesties. In spite of all the promises which he had made before his departure, and although he had manifested the utmost eagerness to get the Princes into his hands, no sooner had the Queen said a few words to him on the subject, than he consented, through his natural want of resolution, that they should be conducted to Havre.

The court openly boasted that, upon the Queen's return to Paris, it would be an easy matter to seize the persons of the *Frondeurs*, even in the very markets.

When it was known that the Princes were to be removed to Havre, this circumstance gave many persons great concern. The Princes party were reduced, thereby, to the utmost despair, having no longer the least hopes of their restoration to liberty; and the *Frondeurs*, on their side, perceiving the authority of Cardinal Mazarin thus augmented, as well by the imprisonment of the Princes, who were now absolutely in his power, as by the irresolution of the Duke of Orleans, who was their sole support, they judged their ruin to be inevitable; and, having learnt what was said at court, of the facility with which their persons might be seized, as mentioned

above; they made all possible haste to conclude their treaty with the Princes.

As those who negotiated on behalf of the Princes were not very scrupulous, they did not hesitate to propose to the Dutchess de Montbazon*, for whom the Duke of Beaufort entertained a passion, and who governed him, a match between the Prince of Conti and her daughter, notwithstanding that she was promised to another person; and that the Prince was already engaged to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. But the Dutchess de Montbazon would not accept of this proposal, and they hit upon another, which proved more agreeable to her; which was to procure for her the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, of which they engaged that the court should pay her eighty thousand, which was due to her for arrears of salary to her late husband, and that the remainder should be paid her by the Princes.

This article formed a separate treaty; because the Dutchess did not chuse that it should come to the knowledge of the rest of the Princes; and this treaty was concluded and signed some months before that of the party in general; and which last was never signed by the Dutchess de Montbazon.

Although the Duke of Beaufort and the Cad-jutor bore no good will to each other, yet, perceiving the necessity that there was for their uniting in their common defence, they now adjusted their differences, because that neither of them possessed any credit in the city so long as they continued at variance.

* Mademoiselle de Rohan, Princess de Guemene, Dutchess de Montbazon, daughter of Peter de Rohan, Count de Vertus.

The Princes friends were assiduous in their endeavours to serve them on this occasion: nothing was neglected which could tend to procure them their liberty, although there was little probability of success.

The principal person who appeared in this negotiation was the Princess Palatine*, the wife of Edward, Prince Palatine, who had never made any conspicuous figure in the world till now. She had even been involved in several affairs of rather a disagreeable nature, but she possessed such a genius, and so particular a talent for political intrigues, that no one succeeded so well in them as she did.

The Duke de Nemours† also entered into these negotiations: but he was distinguished rather by his probity, politeness, and by the agreeableness of his manners, than by his abilities. He sided with the Princes because, a short time before their imprisonment, being dissatisfied with the Cardinal's conduct, he had reprehended him in very severe terms. Upon which it was observed to him, that he was very unfortunate not to have received any favour from his eminency after this, and that he was the only person who had ever offended him without being rewarded.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault also, with great

* Anne de Gonzague de Mantua, wife of Edward, Prince Palatine: she died a convert to the Roman Catholic religion, at Paris, in 1663.

† Charles-Amadeus de Savoy, Duke de Nemours, who was killed in a duel, by the Duke of Beaufort, in 1652. He was the father of Mary-Jane-Baptist de Nemours, afterwards Dutches of Savoy, and of Mary-Francoise-Elizabeth de Nemours, since Queen of Portugal.

unwillingness, commenced a negotiation with the *Frondeurs*; but there was no resisting the torrent. The treaty between the Princes and the *Fronde* was kept very secret, and still more so was that particular article of the marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse* with the Prince of Conti. The utmost precaution was taken that the Duke of Beaufort, especially, should not come to the knowledge of it, according to his usual fate in every affair in which he was at any time engaged.

In order to effect this point, it was agreed, that the Duke de Nemours, his brother-in-law, should read the treaty aloud, and that those passages which he was to omit reading, being such as the Duke of Beaufort was not to be made acquainted with, should be marked with a pencil; which circumstance first gave rise to the unhappy affair, which afterwards ensued between them, and of which further mention will be made in the sequel.

The Duke of Orleans became a party in this treaty, in which Mademoiselle de Valois†, his third daughter, was granted in marriage to the Duke of Enguien. The Coadjutor required that the Prince of Condé should use his influence, to procure his advancement to the Cardinalship: for every one treated with this Prince in a manner, as if they had imagined him to be on the point becoming King of France, being fully persuaded that, no sooner should he obtain his liberty, than he would become the absolute master of the kingdom: and no one treated with him on any other footing.

* Charlotte-Maria de Chevreuse, daughter of Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Chevreuse: she died, unmarried, in 1632.

† Françoise-Magdalen de Valois, married to Emmanuel the second, Duke de Savoy: she died in 1664.

At length, from the ruins of these two parties, of the Princes and of the *Frondeurs*, there arose one, whose power was so great, that it exceeded even that of the court.

What contributed to a change so unexpected and so extraordinary was, that it was seen that the court had never pardoned any thing of what had passed; and that, if at times they had manifested an inclination so to do, it had arisen solely from the embarrassment in which they chanced to find themselves involved; because, also, that the minister was not less depressed in adversity, than he was proud and haughty in prosperity.

The parliament, therefore, judged that, for their own security, it would be absolutely necessary to create business for that minister, and never to suffer him to be without. Even his own signatures were glad to see him thus embarrassed, as they could always obtain more favours from him when he was surrounded with difficulties. But what caused a fresh stir amongst the *Frondeurs* was, that many of the Princes' friends, as also not a few of their own party, afforded those gentlemen a powerful support. And, what was little credited at the time, although nevertheless a certain fact, a considerable number of persons of consequence joined the Prince of Condé's party, when they thought that this measure would be of no benefit to him; amongst others the Duke of Orleans and some of those members of the parliament who first entered into the *Fronde*, who found a connection with his party very advantageous while he was absent.

Nevertheless the friends of the Princes, as I have already mentioned, were assiduous in their endeavours to serve them, and neglected nothing which

could be for their advantage, either in the *Fronde*, or in the parliament, where they had formed a powerful cabal.

The parliament well knew that Cardinal-Mazarin was no friend to them, and, judging that the advantages which that minister had lately obtained over his enemies were sufficiently great, to enable him to undertake something against them, they thought it necessary to renew their cabals, in order to divert his attention to other affairs, and accordingly united themselves with the rest of the parties. So that the Queen did not find her situation at Paris such as she had expected it would have been.

The Dutchess de Longueville had retired to Ste-nai, with M. de Turenne, where, as I have already observed, she concluded a treaty with the Spaniards, by which she surrendered to them the city of Ste-nai, and retained only the citadel, the Spaniards engaging, in return, to furnish M. de Turenne with a body of troops, at the head of which he was to enter France; and these troops had even already taken Rhétel, to which place the King's army had now laid siege, and expected to make themselves masters of it in a short time.

Immediately upon the Cardinal's return to Paris, he was obliged to repair to the above frontier, where he met with such success, that not only Rhétel surrendered to the King's troops, but the Marshal du Plessis-Praslin* also had the good fortune to obtain a victory over M. de Turenne. But, what was very strange, these successes, instead of benefiting the

* César, Duke de Choiseul, Count du Plessis-Praslin, Mar-
shal of France, died in 1673.

minister's affairs at Paris, served, on the contrary, only to render them still more embarrassed; as the fear of his becoming, in consequence, too powerful, incited his foes to renew their attacks with greater vigour than ever.

During this time the court had continued at Paris, where they fancied that their power was absolute, and that they had nothing to fear or even to guard against; and, although their real situation was very different from what they imagined it to be, yet so strongly was the Queen's prepossessed with this action of her security, that she could not be prevailed on to fix her residence at the Louvre, from whence she might have retired from the city whenever she had thought proper. Whereas, at the *Palais Royal*, she found herself surrounded and hemmed in by the people, and was even situated very near to the markets, in which quarter the greatest tumults which had happened in the city had commonly originated. It is possible that she might be partly influenced, on this occasion, by the desire of having more magnificent, and more commodious apartments, but she ought not to have forgot, that it was this very circumstance, of her residing at the *Palais Royal*, which had formerly compelled her, at the time of the barricades, to release Broussel and Blancmenil.

The first incident, which served to demonstrate to her Majesty, that the fear which the people of Paris entertained of her and the Cardinal, was not so great as they had both conceived it to be, was that, one morning a portrait of that minister was found in the streets, with a cord passed round the neck of the figure: and it was this, also, which first began to intimidate her, and to diminish that over-
great

great confidence which she had hitherto manifested in all her conduct.

Just at this time, the Duke of Beaufort, passing one evening through the streets, some persons approached the coach, and shot one of his attendants, who was seated in it, close to the door. This transaction proved of sufficient consequence to awaken the animosity of the people. Every one maintained that the design had been formed against the master, and that, as the deceased had very light coloured hair, the assassins had mistaken him for the Duke.

But the court talked very differently on the matter; declaring that the person who had been killed could not have been taken for the Duke of Beaufort, because his hair was black; which was, in fact, true with respect to Saint-Egla, the deceas'd: and, moreover, this man was so little known, that it was not difficult for them to paint him of whatever colour they might think proper.

The court afterwards publicly asserted that this assassination had been concerted by the Princes party; that it was a second *Jolide*, and that the pretended attack upon Joli, which they had contrived previous to the imprisonment of the Princes, for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the people, not having produced the desired effect, they had determined, on this occasion, to sacrifice a man outright, to see if that scheme would have any better success. But the whole mystery of this affair was at length unravelled, in consequence of a capture which was made, at this time, of a number of robbers; amongst whom were discovered the persons who had perpetrated the act. These wretches confessed the murder, and declared that, having per-
ceived

ceived more persons in the Duke of Beaufort's coach than they had expected to find, they had judged it best to retire, without attempting to rob them.

After this discovery, all further talk on this subject was dropped; neither of the parties concerning themselves any longer about what might be the colour of the deceased's hair.

During these trifling disturbances which had arisen in Paris, others of a more important nature began to be renewed: the disorders of the kingdom, and the bad management of the finances, again became the subject of general conversation. But what reduced the Cardinal's affairs to a still worse situation than before, was his ill-judged policy, in feigning an inclination to set the Princes at liberty.

As it was generally imagined that the Prince of Condé's return was very near at hand, all were desirous of contributing to this change in his condition; and every one now began to talk openly on the subject of the Princes' release, and to declare that it was the only means to remedy the disorders and the misfortunes of the state.

The Duke of Orleans constantly manifested a zealous attachment to the interests of the *Frondeurs* when he was with them; but in conversing, at any time, with the Queen, he always expressed very different sentiments; and he changed so frequently, that it was almost impossible for either of the parties to place a confidence in him.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse persuaded the Queen that she exerted herself to the utmost, to prevail on that Prince to comply with whatever her Majesty should require of him: and she even seemed, at times, to have had pretty good success in her attempts.

attempts. But, at length, on a certain day, on which the Duke of Orleans chanced to be at the *Palais Royal*, Cardinal Mazarin observed to the King, that the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor, appeared to have taken *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* for their models, that the parliament resembled that of England, and that, should they be permitted to carry their designs into execution, they would exhibit the same scenes in France, which had been so lately acted in England.

To this, the Duke of Orleans, who, perhaps, only sought a pretext for breaking off all connection with the court, replied, that, having the honour to be so nearly related to the King, he could not permit such strange impressions to be given his Majesty, and that it was his duty to represent to him the injustice and bad tendency of them; adding, that he would never return to the Palace again, till those, who filled the King's mind with such suspicions of the fidelity of his best subjects, should be first banished from thence: after which he retired without taking leave.

A person was immediately dispatched after him, but it was to no purpose: he sent a message to the Queen, that he would return no more to the *Palais Royal*, till Cardinal Mazarin should be first dismissed, and that he had already suffered but too much from him.

On the next day, the Coadjutor went to the parliament, where he declared, that he had it in command from the Duke of Orleans to acquaint the assembly, that he judged it expedient that the Princes should be released, and that he had assured the Queen of his firm resolution, never to return to the court, so long as the Cardinal should remain there. He after-

wards

wards acquainted them with all the circumstances of that affair. The Coadjutor has since asserted, perhaps with the view of making his court to the Prince of Condé, and perhaps also it might be true, that he had made the above declaration in the parliament, without having received any orders for that purpose from the Duke of Orleans, through fear lest that Prince should alter his resolution: but that this measure having been previously proposed and agreed to in his council, he had made no doubt but that the Duke would approve of it, which he also did, being still violently irritated against the court. All these circumstances greatly embarrassed the Queen, and gave her much uneasiness and vexation.

Several of the ministers, at different times, waited on the Duke of Orleans, in her Majesty's name, but he still continued inflexible. She even sent him word that, if he approved of it, she would pay him a visit in person to which he returned for answer, that if he should see her enter his palace at one door, he would directly quit it at another.

The Queen of England, also, went to him, with proposals from that Princess; but she met with no better reception than the rest had experienced: on the contrary, after having employed all her arguments in vain, as she came down the stairs, some insolent persons began to insult her, crying out, "There goes a Mazarin!" which she resented so highly, that she went back to the Duke, her brother, for to tell him that she would never see him more, unless he would engage that she should

* Henrietta-Maria de France, daughter of Henry the IVth, the King's aunt; she died in 1669.

be treated with all due respect by those about him.

The Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe, after having exerted all her endeavours to prevail on the Duke of Orleans to yield to the Queen's requeſt, acquainted her Maſteſty, that he appeared to be ſo determin'd that certainly no one could induce him to alter his reſolution; that her Maſteſty was the only perſon who could effect this; that ſhe had ſo great an aſcendant over his mind, and ſo peculiar an art of perſuading him to a compliance with her wiſhes, that, could ſhe once have a conference with him, ſhe would, doubtleſs, be able to pacify his reſentment in a great degree, and infallibly to deſtroy all that influence which the *Frondeurs* had acquired over him, and who dreaded a ſimilar interview; and, finally, that it would be neceſſary that, in order to ſatisfy the Duke of Orleans, the Cardinal ſhould retire to St. Germain's only, as his Royal Highneſs had abſolutely engaged not to return to the *Palais Royal*, ſo long as that miniſter ſhould continue there, and that, when once the Duke ſhould have returned thither, ſhe might then obtain from him whatever ſhe ſhould think proper to aſk: ſo great was her influence over that Prince.

The Cardinal fell into the ſnare: whether it was from the ſpeciouſneſs of the propoſal, or whether from the implicit confidence which he placed in the Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe, of whoſe judgment he entertained a very high opinion, and whom he imagined could not but be in his intereſts, becauſe of the great influence which Laigues poſſeſſed over her, well knowing that no accommodation could poſſibly take place between that gentleman and the

Prince

Prince of Condé: but, what his eminency was not sufficiently acquainted with at that time was, that, on this occasion, the Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe governed Laigues.

Cardinal Mazarin, therefore, ſat off * for St. Germain's on the following night; and it was agreed between the Queen and him, that the Princes ſhould not be releaſed, but with the conſent of both parties. They did not, however, imagine that their ſeparation would be of long continuance.

On the very next day, the Queen ſent a meſſage to the Duke of Orleans, acquainting him that, in order to ſatisfy him, ſhe had cauſed the Cardinal to retire, and that he might now, therefore, viſit the King and her whenever he ſhould think proper. But the Duke replied that, the Cardinal being at no greater diſtance than five leagues from Paris, to which city he might, in conſequence, again repair whenever he ſhould pleaſe, he expected that his eminency ſhould quit the kingdom before he could conſent to return to the *Palais Royal*: and, in the ſame inſtant, he went to the parliament, for the purpoſe of engaging that aſſembly to iſſue an edict againſt Cardinal Mazarin, whereby he ſhould be baniſhed from France, as a *diſturber of the public peace*, and all the King's faithful ſubjects ſhould be enjoined to *attack him perſonally*, in whatever part of his Majeſty's dominions he ſhould be found. This the Duke effected without much difficulty, as the Cardinal's departure, which had much of the appearance of a flight, had reviv'd the courage of the parliament, and

* In the year 1651.

had greatly dispirited the adherents of that minister.

A strong report now arose, that the court had determined to retire secretly from Paris. I know not what foundation there was for it; but the Duke of Orleans was so firmly persuaded of the truth of it, that he sent for the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs, and acquainted them that he had received certain intelligence, that the creatures of Cardinal Mazarin had formed a design to carry off the King, and that, as such an event might cause great disturbances in the state, it would be proper, in order to defeat their intentions, that the citizens should take possession both of the gates of the *Palais Royal*, and also of those of the city: which was immediately carried into execution. The Queen, also, to prevent the royal authority from sustaining any injury on the occasion, commanded the attendance of the provost of the merchants, and gave him the like instructions.

Not a single night passed in which the Duke of Orleans did not cause the Queen to be waked out of her sleep two or three times, in order to know whether the King's person was safe. This the Queen very impatiently brooked, and still more to perceive that the security of her person was very precarious, through the animosity which she knew was entertained, both against herself, and against the Cardinal.

The Dutchesse de Chevreuse had maintained, in all the consultations of the *Frondeurs*, that all that was requisite was to remove the Cardinal from about the Queen's person; and that, from the perfect knowledge which she had of her Majesty's disposition, she was convinced that, no sooner should

his

his eminency be out of her sight, than she would totally forget him. All which happened according to her prediction, as will be seen in the sequel.

Every one, however, imagines, to this day, that the absolute power, which the Queen permitted the Cardinal to assume over her, arose from an attachment of a very peculiar nature. Nevertheless, the truth is*, that it was merely the effect of her disinclination for public business, and a consequence of the bad opinion which she entertained of her abilities in that respect. In which it may be said, that she greatly deceived herself; for it is certain that this Princess possessed a large fund of good sense, and that, in the council, she constantly adopted that advice which was best calculated for the public benefit. Had she used application, she would have rendered herself expert in the management of affairs: but, with a good capacity, she had an invincible aversion to every thing which bore the least resemblance to business. Thus, through the desire of being released from all the cares and trouble, which attend the management of the affairs of a state, she invested those, who had acquired her confidence, with a power which had no bounds: and as this her aversion to business was accompanied with an unaccountable diffidence of herself, which rendered her incapable of deciding upon any matter of importance, she blindly submitted herself to the advice, and, if I may presume so to say, to the will, of those persons in whom she placed an entire confidence. Fatal docility! which proved the source of much vexation to that Princess, who, in other respects, pos-

* The character of the Queen-Mother.

essed a thousand amiable virtues, and a thousand great qualities, of which few were acquainted with the value, being in every respect, ignorant of the character of that Queen.

I know, therefore, that what I am about to assert on that subject is contrary to the general opinion. Nevertheless, I am so well acquainted with its reality, than I can neither have the least doubt on the matter, nor can I refrain from mentioning it in this place: for it appears to me, that those truths which are the least known, are the most worthy of curiosity; and this circumstance, so little known, is that after the Cardinal's departure, the Queen and he seldom acted in concert, and that they were often little satisfied with each other's conduct.

The Queen, through that same diffidence of herself, placed the like confidence in the other ministers, as soon as the Cardinal had retired; and as they unanimously advised her to release the Princes from confinement, she readily consented thereto, without even recollecting, that she was under an engagement to Cardinal Mazarin never to take that step, but with his concurrence.

It is true that she would have found it very difficult to have dispensed with yielding her consent to this proposal, as their Majesties were, in a manner, held in imprisonment in the *Palais Royal*. The ministers, the first President Molé, and the friends of the Princes adjusted the conditions of their Highnesses releasement; and the Marshal de Grammont * was chosen to carry the articles to Havre.

* Anthony de Grammont, Duke de Grammont, Peer and Marshal of France: he died in 1678.

When

When the Cardinal became acquainted with these proceedings, and with the little regard which the Queen had shewn for him on the occasion, he was not less affected than surprized thereat. But those friends whom he had still remaining at court, at the same time that they communicated this intelligence to him, acquainted him that it was requisite that he should assume to himself the honour of the whole transaction, and that he should go in person to set the Princes at liberty: which he did, and even on more favourable conditions for them, than those were which the Marshal de Grammont was commissioned to offer them, and which were rendered useless, because the Marshal did not arrive at Havre till some time after the Cardinal, who had already released their Highnesses from their confinement.

So strongly was every one prepossessed with the notion that the Queen gave herself up, on every occasion, to the direction of Cardinal Mazarin, that no notice whatever was taken of the slowness of their correspondence, nor of the various misunderstandings, which have, from time to time, arisen between them ever since that period: for it is certain that they never lived in so confidential an intercourse with each other after the æra of his departure, as they had done before.

However, as the Queen still found herself confined in the *Palais Royal*, the city guard, which had before taken possession of the gates, not having been removed, although she had caused the necessary orders to be expedited for the releasement of the Princes, the friends of Cardinal Mazarin dispatched M. de Navailles to him, to advise him not to be in a hurry to carry those orders into execution,

cution, and to acquaint their Highnesses friends at Paris, that they must not expect to see the effect of them, till the King and Queen should first be freed from every restraint. But M. de Navailles arrived too late, and the Princes had already quitted Havre, before he entered the place.

The Prince of Condé was greatly surprized and embarrassed when he saw Cardinal Mazarin enter his prison, from the uncertainty in which he found himself, whether he was powerful or unfortunate. However, he determined to give him a civil reception, even before he had learnt what were the motives of his visit. After which, he and the Cardinal entered into several important engagements. But it was common for them to pay little regard to their engagements with each other, and it was even remarked, that, as soon as the Prince of Condé had quitted his prison, he scarcely seemed to take any, the least, notice of that minister.

I had forgot to observe that, as soon as the Princess Palatine had learnt that the Princes were at liberty, she waited on the Dutchess de Montbazon, and feigning all imaginable friendship for her, she told her, that she was very anxious to procure for her the payment of the money, which their Highnesses had promised her; desiring that she would put into her hands the written engagement, in virtue of which she was to receive it, in order to accelerate the payment of it, and promising to take the utmost care of the paper.

The Dutchess de Montbazon, being deceived by these protestations, without considering the inconveniencies to which she might expose herself, although she was naturally very avaricious, delivered

to the Princess the paper in question: but from that time she heard nothing further of the matter. She, therefore, pressed the Princess Palatine either to bring the business to a conclusion, or to return her the paper: to which that Princess replied that, having given it to the Prince of Condé, it was no longer in her disposal.

Upon receiving this answer, the Dutchess de Montbazon sent a person to demand payment of the money of the Prince of Condé, who, in answer, only made a jest of the affair, and turned the lady into ridicule. That lady, perceiving that her loss was irremediable, suffered the affair to drop, either from a conviction of the inutility of proceeding further in it, or from an unwillingness that the public should know to what degree she had been duped. I have related all the circumstances of this affair in one single article, although they happened at different intervals; but my reason for it is, that I may not again be obliged to interrupt the course of my narrative with a recital of those particulars.

Before the return of the Princes to Paris, the Duke of Orleans sent to Mademoiselle de Longueville, afterwards Dutchess de Nemours, a petition, ready drawn up, to be laid before the parliament of Normandy, requesting them to issue an edict against Cardinal Mazarin; she being, at that time, the sole proper representative of the Princes in that province, on account of the family alliance which subsisted between them. It was necessary, therefore, that the petition should be presented in her name. However it never was presented, nor is it known what became of it afterwards.

It was expected at Paris, that the Prince of Condé would, immediately upon his return, become the absolute master of that city. Every one imagined that, as his party, even during his imprisonment, had dared, and had been able to keep the King a prisoner, in a manner, in his palace, there was nothing which he might not attempt, and with success also, when he should once have put himself at their head. It was presumed that he would acquire an absolute and boundless power, against which all resistance would be vain.

His friends and creatures already thought of nothing else, but of dividing amongst themselves all the posts, and all the governments of the kingdom; and his enemies were under the most terrible apprehensions of his resentment. The Queen and the ministers lived in a similar state of uneasiness, being abandoned by every one, and unable to determine in what manner to act. In a word, persons of all ranks, both at court, and in the city, were reduced to a wretched condition: and those only were free from terror, who had entered into some kind connection with the Prince of Condé.

It was reported that he intended, immediately upon his arrival, to cause old M. de Guittault to be put to death, for having dared to arrest his person; that he would next put the Queen under confinement in a convent; and, finally, that he would cause himself to be declared regent conjointly with the Duke of Orleans, in consequence of which association it was naturally supposed that he would retain all the power of the regency in his own hands: to all this was further added, that, as, in former regencies, the term at which the

the King is supposed to come of age, had been advanced to thirteen years, it might, probably, be altered again to seventeen, to which it had before been limited.

It is very certain that, however extraordinary the fears and apprehensions, which the people had conceived on this subject, might appear, yet it was far from being improbable that they should be verified; and it is equally certain that the Prince of Condé might, with ease, have effected any enterprize he should have been inclined to undertake, in that universal terror and consternation into which he had thrown the whole kingdom of France. And it may justly be asserted, that the infatuation by which he was possessed, and which restrained him from exerting his power on this occasion, in spite of the natural violence and haughtiness of his temper, can be attributed solely to the good fortune of the King, (whom such glorious destinies awaited) and to the will of God, who would neither permit the kingdom thus to be destroyed, nor that France should receive laws from a Prince less worthy of the throne, than him to whom he had himself committed the reigns of government.

The first remarkable circumstance of the conduct of the Prince of Condé, after his releasement, was that, upon his arrival at Rouen, he totally neglected to cause the parliament of that city to issue the edict, which they had before agreed on, against the Cardinal, and that his Highness did not even mention a syllable of the matter during his stay there. This gave rise to a great variety of conjectures, although no one was able to penetrate into the real motives, by which the Prince was actuated on this occasion.

The Queen, who no longer acted with authority, requested the Marshal d'Aumont * to officiate in person, as captain of the body-guards, at the ensuing interview to which the Princes were to be admitted, and that he would not entrust that post to his son, upon the occasion, who was as yet but a young man; observing, however, that she was not ignorant that the execution of this office was rather incompatible with his dignity, as a marshal of France. The Marshal replied, that he should always esteem it the highest honour to serve the King, in whatever station it might be; but that, as he wished to acquit himself, upon all occasions, with credit, he could not undertake this employ, unless her Majesty would engage that the King should not keep at too great a distance from him, that he might be the better enabled to answer for the security of his person, and that orders should be given to the door-keepers, to admit all those whom he should bring with him to the Palace. He added that, upon the arrival of the princes at the palace, he would fill the chamber of audience with a number of disbanded officers and soldiers, for whom he would be responsible, in order that her Majesty's authority might undergo no diminution: of all which the Queen greatly approved.

Those who observed this unusual number of strangers present on the occasion imagined, only, that they had been collected together by chance, and by the desire of being spectators of so important an inter-

* Anthony d'Aumont and d'Estrabonne, Peer and Marshal of France, Duke d'Aumont: he died in 1669.

view, as that between the Prince of Condé and the Queen.

On the day on which the Princes arrived at Paris, (16th of February 1651) bonfires were made in various parts of the city, for joy of their restoration to liberty, as had before been done, on occasion of their imprisonment. But it must be acknowledged that these latter were neither made with the same good will, nor were they so brilliant, as the former: for the people are often very fantastical in their disposition, and of this they had given several instances, in their conduct respecting the Princes.

The Duke of Orleans went to meet them in his carriage, on which occasion the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor had the honour to accompany him. All parties were profuse of their embraces and their compliments. But it was in this exterior civility that those gentlemen made to consist all their gratitude, and all their friendship for each other.

The Duke of Orleans, who had not seen the Queen since their disagreement, went to the *Palais Royal*, to introduce the three Princes to her; and from thence he conducted them home with him to supper. An apparent coolness reigned at the audience, nor did much more cordiality shew itself at the repast; and, as nothing further remarkable happened at the time, every one, from that instant, began to lay aside the apprehensions which he had entertained, of the consequences of the Prince of Condé's return.

It was easy to perceive, from this moderation, which had not been expected from him, that his designs were neither of so important, nor of so violent

lent a nature, as the public had imagined ; and from hence also a judgement was even formed of what his future conduct would be.

But, in order to understand in what manner all this power and influence, both of the Prince of Condé and of the *Fronde*, was destroyed ; to conceive how so many specious appearances so suddenly vanished, and so many terrible projects were rendered effete, without opposition, and in so short a time ; and, finally, how so many powerful connections and treaties were so soon broken through ; it will be necessary, in order to give the clearer idea of the matter, to relate all the attending circumstances ; and, for this purpose, I must resume the affair further back.

As the friends of the Prince of Condé were well informed, that the two factions of which the *Fronde* was composed, mortally hated each other, they had the address to make each of them believe, that it was with their party, alone, that his Highness wished to be connected. The Duke of Beaufort was infatuated to the last degree with the idea of this predilection in his favour ; and they had effectually persuaded him, that the Prince's re-accommodation with the other party, was meerly a patched-up affair ; whilst that with him was founded on the basis of the most perfect sincerity. They added that, exclusive of the merit of the Princes release-ment, which could be attributed to him alone, the cause of their detention could not, by any means, be imputed to him ; seeing that it was notorious, that he had known nothing of the matter ; that, for this reason, their Highnesses could neither bear him any ill will on the subject, nor could they entertain any sentiments, respecting him, with which
he

he must not have good cause to be satisfied; besides, that he had been the first also to negotiate in their behalf. The Duke of Beaufort readily credited every thing that was said to him of this kind, and to all their flattery he still added a thousand particulars to his advantage.

Those who negotiated for the Princes feigned a belief of what he said, and affected not to entertain the least doubt, but that it was him who had prevailed on the Coadjutor to espouse their Highnesses interests. Moreover, they highly extolled him for having declined to make any terms for himself. But they, at the same time, naturally concluded, that he had affected this false appearance of disinterestedness, solely with the view of obtaining the greater advantages for himself.

Nevertheless, as he presumed equally on his good fortune and on his abilities for political intrigues, he imagined not only that he had, by the one, induced a belief of all that he had asserted, respecting the obligations which the Princes lay under to him; but, also, that he had acquired, by the other, a considerable share in the management of affairs, and in quality of the chief friend, and of the favourite of him who directed every measure.

So thoroughly, therefore, was he infatuated with this notion, that, when he heard of the intended marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse with the Prince of Conti, he fell into so violent a rage, and conceived so much chagrin on the occasion, that he, for a long time, appeared absorbed, in a manner, in the consideration of the affair, rightly judging that this marriage would give the other party of the *Fronde*, much greater influence over the

Prince of Condé, than he could, in that case, hope to possess; and that, consequently, he should not enjoy so great a share of the Prince's favour as he had promised himself.

From this reflection, therefore, arose his grief. But his rage was occasioned by the discovery which he had now made, that he had been duped in the aforementioned treaty, and by his having been kept totally ignorant of this marriage, so destructive of his hopes; although he was so much accustomed to this kind of reserve, from those with whom he was connected, that it might have been imagined that he would have felt it less sensibly on the present occasion.

In consequence of this last instance of his party's reserve towards him, he conceived so violent a resentment against the Duke de Nemours*, his brother-in-law, that it is commonly supposed that it laid the first foundation for the subsequent duel between them, and in which the Duke de Nemours was killed by his antagonist. That circumstance, together with the Prince of Condé's refusal to fulfill his engagement with the Dutchess de Montbazon, respecting the sum of money which he had promised her, obliged the Duke of Beaufort to enter into treaty with the court, about which the Prince of Condé gave himself very little concern.

The Prince of Condé, on the next day after his arrival at Paris, very punctually waited on the Dutchess de Chevreuse, purposely to return her his most grateful thanks for all the services she had rendered him; assuring her that he considered himself as be-

* Charles Amadeus, Duke de Nemours: he was killed in 1650.

ing indebted to her alone for his liberty : and, in conformity to the promise which he had given on the subject, he, at the same time, demanded her daughter in marriage for the Prince of Conti, who, being also present on the occasion, ratified the demand, by making a tender of his services to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. The Dutchess, replied, that, however great the honour was which their Highnesses proposed to confer on her daughter, she could not wish her to receive it, if the Prince of Condé's repugnance to the measure was such as many persons believed it to be, and that she should ever prefer his satisfaction to the advancement of her daughter; that, with respect to the promise which he had given her, she well knew that engagements entered into in a prison are not binding; that she, therefore, readily released him from his, leaving it at his option, either to fulfill it or not, as he should think best; that, for her part, she should always esteem it a great advantage to have been able to serve a person of his rank and merit, and that, even if she should not receive the honour which he offered her, she should still continue equally attached to his interests. But all that the Dutchess de Chevreuse said served only to induce the Prince of Condé to renew his engagements, and that even with such vehement protestations, that she thought them sincere, although he had not, nevertheless, the least intention to execute them. For he now looked upon a breach of promise of this kind, as a matter of but little consequence, and his sole reason for manifesting so much eagerness for this alliance was, that, well knowing that it was dreaded by the court, he was desirous that they should solicit him to break it off, in order

to make them purchase his compliance at a very dear rate.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse, on her side, had appeared thus indifferent to the proposal, solely because she was sensible that the Prince of Condé had not yet had time to re-accommodate matters with the court; and that, by thus renewing his engagements with her, after all that she had said to him, he would render it very difficult for him to dispense with an adherence to his promises.

The report of the approaching celebration of this marriage having been spread abroad, the Queen now clearly perceived that the Dutchess de Chevreuse had constantly deceived her; neither was she much surprized at it: for she had long suspected that lady, and had even acquainted the Cardinal with the doubts she entertained of her fidelity. That minister could not, at first, give credit to the suggestion; but, when he became convinced of the truth of it, he swore that he would never again place a confidence in a woman of her character; at the same time making use of a most injurious appellation, the more plainly to express his sentiments concerning her.

The court was so well convinced of the danger of suffering a person of the character and abilities of the Dutchess de Chevreuse to gain admittance into the family of the Prince of Condé, which family, for their own advantage and for that of the Dutchess de Chevreuse, also, must espouse no other interests than those of that Prince; the court, I say, had had such experience of what that lady might be capable of effecting in the family of Condé, that the ministers set every engine in motion,

tion, to prevent the intended alliance from taking place; and it was judged, also, that, should the Prince of Condé break through his connections with her, he would be deserted by the whole *Fronde*; which would prove an essential prejudice to his affairs. A negotiation was, accordingly, opened with the Prince of Condé, by Messrs. De Lyonne* and Servien†, with whom he chose to treat, rather than with M. le Tellier‡, on behalf of the court, into which his Highness eagerly entered, without once reflecting on the many protestations he had made to the Dutcheß de Chevreuse, at the time of the renewal of his engagements with her.

On the side of the court, it had been resolved to sacrifice to him the government of Guyenne, and to give him hopes of that of Provence for the Prince of Conti, although they had not the least intention to fulfill those hopes.

The Princess Palatine offered her services to the Queen in this negotiation. The Duke de la Rochefoucault entered into it, also, and that with the greatest alacrity; as he bore the most inveterate hatred to the *Fronde*. Thus, at the very same time that the ministers were employed in negotiating, on behalf of the court, with the Prince of Condé, they secretly treated, also, with all those

* Hugh de Lyonne, Marquis de Berni, minister of state: he died in 1671.

† Abel Servien, Marquis de Sablé, minister of state, and superintendant of the finances: he died in 1659.

‡ Michael Le Tellier, minister of state: he died in the post of chancellor of France, in 1685.

of his party, for the purpose of detaching them from his interests.

The Dutches de Longueville, on her side, being still at Stenai, where she had been obliged to remain, in order to complete the regulation of some concerns with the Spaniards, received the news of her brother's approaching marriage with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse with great sorrow; being apprehensive, that the mother and daughter would deprive her of all her credit with that brother, who was the only person of her family, over whom she possessed a real influence; but what affected her still more was, the idea of a person's being received into that family, who was both more beautiful, and younger than herself.

Although, at so great a distance, that Princess could not know, with any precision, in what state that negotiation then was, and whether it might be prudent so soon to discover the design, which had been formed by the Prince of Condé and herself, yet she, nevertheless, in order to induce a belief that she was equal to every thing, which she undertook, ventured to write to Euanfaldagne*, that she was about to set off for Paris, to break off this marriage, between the Prince of Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse.

The Duke de Noismoutier, who was better acquainted with the Prince of Condé's real character than the rest, could never be prevailed on to take part in the negotiation between that Prince and the *Fronde*, nor even to return to Paris during the whole time of its being in agitation: for this reason, he acquainted the *Frondeurs*, that, as he claim-

* M. de Euanfaldagne, governor of the Low Countries.

ed no share in the great advantages and blessings, which they were about to reap, from their re-accommodation with the Prince of Condé, so neither would he engage with their party in this new connection, but that he would, nevertheless, ever continue attached to their cause, in case they should not, in the sequel, find in this dazzling union all that they expected. He informed them, at the same time, of what the Dutchess de Longueville had written to Fuansaldagne, which he had learnt from some women of that province, with whom he had, on different occasions, formed a kind of intimacy.

The *Frondeurs* began to entertain some suspicions of the Prince of Condé's sincerity, both on account of this intimation, given them by the Duke de Noirmoutier, and also as they observed that the application for the [*dispensation*] marriage licence had been delayed as long as possible: moreover, the Dutchess de Chevreuse having waited on the Dutchess de Longueville, on the very day of her return from Stenay, in order to shew her the greater respect, and that she might have the better opportunity of conversing with her in private, the Dutchess de Longueville, far from making her the least compliment whatever on the approaching marriage of her daughter, affected even to be totally silent on the subject.

It appeared, therefore, to the *Frondeurs*, not only that the Prince of Condé might, very probably, intend to break off that marriage, but also that, if such should be his design, it would not be in their power to prevent his carrying it into execution; that this, perhaps, was the sole reason which obliged him to quit the party of the *Fronde*; and that,

that, not to make a sacrifice of all their hopes, they ought, of their own account, to offer him their concurrence in that design, in case he should really have adopted it. The Coadjutor, accordingly, waited on the Prince of Condé, and acquainted him that, if he had the least repugnancy to his brother's marriage, he would undertake to break it off; that he would even engage to reconcile the Dutchesse de Chevreuse to the circumstance, and, finally, that he would take upon himself the whole management of the affair.

The Prince of Condé neglected this opportunity of breaking off his brother's marriage with a good grace; whether it was that he had accomplished his treaty with the court, or that it was not yet concluded; whether he put no faith in what was said to him on the subject: in short, through a false policy, he declined accepting the expedient which was propos'd to him: besides that, in other respects, he shewed such a neglect of the *Fronde*, that, when they expressed so much eagerness to procure an edict to be issued by the parliament, excluding all foreign Cardinals from the post of prime minister, and when the court party caused an addition to be made to that edict, whereby all Cardinals, natives of France, were to be equally excluded, he seemed to interest himself very little, both in the design of the *Fronde*, and in the opposition made by the Coadjutor, to the clause added by the court, and which was levelled against him, who, having manifested by the whole of his conduct, that he sought to obtain the dignity both of cardinal and of prime minister, thereby made many persons his foes. For, in fact, how great soever the people's hatred to Cardinal Mazarin might be,

be, they dreaded still more the Coadjutor's advancement to the ministry, than they did to see that post in the possession of his eminency: and it was very apparent, from the supineness and negligence, with which the Prince of Condé acted on this occasion, in support of the Coadjutor, that his motives were merely political, and that he gave himself very little concern about the event.

The Prince of Condé and the Dutchess de Longueville returned to Paris with the same disposition and manner of conduct, as had before rendered them so odious to the public, and had proved their ruin, without perceiving, or ever once imagining, that this conduct and disposition could be of the least prejudice to them, particularly the Dutchess de Longueville: and, although she was more desirous, than any one else, of an accommodation with the Queen, she determined, nevertheless, in effecting it, not to abate any thing of her natural haughtiness, and to give a specimen of her arrogance, even in her behaviour to that Princess.

She, accordingly, sent her Majesty a message, in like manner as a sister sovereign would have done, acquainting her with the hour at which she proposed to repair to the palace; and, to crown the whole, she exceeded the time she had appointed by two or three hours; which gave the Prince of Condé great uneasiness. But it must be acknowledged that never was haughtiness so badly supported: for no sooner did she come into the Queen's presence, than she was seized with so violent a trembling, that any one would have imagined that she had had an ague upon her, and she was totally incapable of uttering two words together: insomuch that the Queen herself was obliged to revive her spirits;

spirits; with which circumstance that Princess made herself very merry afterwards.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, who possessed a greater share of sense than the Dutchess de Longueville, being of opinion that her power was not so great as she fancied it to be, advised her to attempt to establish her credit with her brother, the Prince of Condé, and her husband, by pretending to each of them that she possessed an influence over the other; to negotiate between them, and to plan her scheme so cautiously, as to suffer them to be together but seldom, and for a very short time, lest they should discover her artifice; because, in fact, she was not upon good terms with either of them, and it was of great importance to her to keep them ignorant of that circumstance. But she, insensibly, adopted a quite contrary conduct to that which had been recommended to her by the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and she carried matters with so high a hand towards her husband, that she found she could not support it without the aid of her brother, who she knew was not at all favourably disposed to her, as will be seen in the sequel.

The Prince of Condé studiously concealed his negotiation with the court, from the knowledge of the public; but the court suffered it to appear pretty plainly, with the view of prejudicing him in the opinion of the *Fronde*. The ministers spun out the treaty as much as possible, because the Prince of Condé's demands were exorbitant; and, before they would give him a definitive answer, they sought first to weaken his party, that he might not be in a situation to stand so much upon terms.

The

The Duke de Bouillon and M. de Turenne abandoned the Prince of Condé, on very slight pretexts, and they effected an accommodation with the court, on better and more certain conditions, than those which that Prince had it in his power to offer them: which was the cause of their quitting his party, having, moreover, just reason to complain of his conduct towards them on several occasions.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, who had of late discovered, that Mademoiselle de Longueville was in a condition to oppose her mother-in-law, had also judged it necessary to keep upon good terms with her: even before the return of the Dutchess de Longueville, he had already began to visit her pretty frequently, and to give her an account of every thing that passed, constantly insinuating to her, upon all these occasions, that it was requisite that she should be reconciled to her mother-in-law, and engaging, not only to effect that accommodation, but, also, to maintain and preserve it.

He gave the same advice to the Dutchess de Longueville: but, as she was influenced solely by her pride, and as she fancied that she had attained the summit of dignity and power, she would give no ear to the suggestions of the Duke de la Rochefoucault: besides, that so long a time had elapsed since she had seen him, that she even began to entertain some sentiments of aversion to him. Insomuch that, instead of giving a favourable reception to her daughter-in-law, when she waited on her, she looked upon her as a person who had incurred her resentment; although Mademoiselle de Longueville had never offended her in any manner whatever, unless it were by constantly manifesting

nifesting the utmost respect for the King and for the Queen. For, with regard to the many indirect attempts which that Princess had made, at different times, to detach her father from his connections with those parties, which were in opposition to the court, the Dutchess de Longueville could not bear her any ill will on that score; because she had never come to the knowledge of that part of her conduct. But her chief reason for treating her daughter-in-law with so much disdain and harshness was, that she did not possess an equal degree of power with herself. As Mademoiselle de Longueville perceived, from this specimen, the insults and ill treatment which she might expect to meet with in the sequel, this circumstance greatly contributed to induce her to enter into an affair, the particulars of which I am about to relate; being persuaded, moreover, that the end which she proposed to herself therein, was the true interest of her father; and which she had never been able, hitherto, as I have before observed, to make him rightly comprehend.

The Duke de Longueville, together with those places which had been restored to him in Normandy, had recovered almost all the credit which he had possessed in that province before his imprisonment; a credit which rendered him very powerful, and which made it appear necessary to the court, to detach him from the party of the Prince of Condé. But they knew not in what manner to proceed, to effect this purpose: because they imagined that he was blindly devoted to the family of Condé; and they were very apprehensive, that every attempt to dissolve the close connection between him and this family, must prove ineffectual,

from

from a persuasion of the great influence which the Dutchess, his wife, possessed over him, whatever incidents might sometimes happen to set them at variance.

Amongst the agents, whom the Duke had employed in his affairs, was a person, who was totally devoted to the court, but he had lately dismissed him from his service; and the Dutchess, also, had employed another, who was that same Priolo, by whose representations, respecting the promise made by Cardinal Mazarin, with regard to the government of Havre, the particulars of which have been already related, the Duke was induced to enter into the party of the *Fronde*. The court, therefore, knew not to whom to apply, on this occasion: and, moreover, they were very fearful that, the dread of offending the Prince of Condé being so universal, and their own party being so greatly dispirited and reduced, no one would be prevailed on to undertake this commission; or, even if any person should accept of it, that it might be with the view of deceiving them only in the sequel. At length, M. Servien bethought himself of Mademoiselle de Longueville, who he knew bore no great affection to her mother-in-law.

That minister had been admitted into the number of her friends, ever since the time of her journey to Munster; and on the pretext of this intimacy, he had paid her a visit, on the occasion of the Princes releasement from prison. He proposed to her, that she should endeavour to prevail on her father to re-accommodate matters with the Queen in so effectual a manner, that nothing should, in future, be capable of dissolving their union.

She readily undertook this commission, and her success therein surpassed even the most sanguine expectations.

peccations. But Mademoiselle de Longueville advised M. Servien not to mention a word on the subject to her father, till the strong prepossession, which every one, at that time, entertain'd of the power of the Prince of Condé, should be a little abated, during which interval, she hoped to be able to prepare matters for this negotiation; promising to acquaint him when the time should be favourable for entering upon the business.

In the midst of all the authority which the Duke de Longueville might possess, he constantly found himself burdened with the support of his brothers-in-law, who were desirous of availing themselves of the power, which his governments gave him, without ever making him any return for the advantages, which they derived from their connection with him; and this was their customary mode of conduct towards every one, who would submit to be thus treated.

The Dutchesse de Longueville, on her side, appeared to be infatuated to the highest degree, with the idea of the prosperous state of her affairs. She was, at first, so firmly persuaded, that she should acquire a greater share of credit than the Prince of Condé; that she could not imagine from what cause it could possibly have happened, that he should ever have possessed more than her. However, in a short time afterwards, she began to entertain a less exalted notion of her importance: but this produced no alteration in her behaviour towards her husband; for she sent him word, that, if he should venture to find fault with any part of her conduct, she would render him the most miserable of mankind.

As the *Frondeurs* had conceived an opinion that
he

he would never shine in any other sphere, than that of a partizan of the Prince of Condé, and as they knew that it was a capital crime, in the eyes of his wife and of his brother-in-law, to manifest any attention for him, they held him in very slight estimation; and they carried on very little intercourse with him, especially the Coadjutor; as well for the reasons which I have here related, as through the shame which he felt, for having contributed to his imprisonment, after having been so highly favoured and protected by him. He constantly told him, however, that he would take an opportunity to have a long conversation with him on the state of affairs: but that promise he never fulfilled.

Such, then, was the situation of the Duke de Longueville, at the period in which his daughter undertook to effect an accommodation between him and the court; and, as that Princess entertained very little fear of those whom she disliked, she did not, in the least, dread the resentment of the Condé family, although she came in for a considerable share in the menaces of her mother-in-law. What emboldened her still more was, that she no longer resided under the same roof with her, having returned to her own house, some time before the Dutches de Longueville's arrival at Paris, and having made that the place of her abode ever afterwards.

She began this negotiation with her father, by flattering him to a great degree, by assuming, afterwards, the liberty of talking to him on the subject of his most important concerns, and by confidently answering for the success of every measure which she proposed, and which she knew would
prove

prove most agreeable to him. But, the better to dispose matters to a successful issue, she first endeavoured to remove his apprehensions of the great power of the house of Condé, by affecting to lament that the Prince of Condé was the only person, who did not foresee the dangers into which he was about to precipitate himself, and by demonstrating to him (the Duke) that they frequently presumed on their power, without the least foundation; that their imprisonment was a convincing proof of the justice of that remark; and that, even when they least presumed thereon, they still affected so to do, in order to impose upon the public by that artifice.

She added, that they commonly hastened their ruin, by their breach of faith towards all those, who had rendered them any service; because that, very unfortunately for the Prince of Condé, and for every one, also, who had occasion to treat with him, he considered all honour, as consisting in bravery and intrepidity alone, and by no means in a scrupulous adherence to the engagements into which he might enter; that no one dare to reprehend his conduct in this respect, nor even to warn him that this was the cause why every one abandoned him; that it was, thus, impossible, that he should ever alter his mode of conduct; finally, that he was the only person who did not perceive the dangerous consequences, which must result to him therefrom, and which he had even already experienced: because no one, but himself, was ignorant of the cause of it, to which he, consequently, could not attribute any of the misfortunes which, at any time, happened to him. She further suggested to her father, that it would, therefore, be more honourable to reconcile himself to the court at this time, whilst the

the Prince of Condé yet appeared to be in a situation to support himself, than when that Prince's affairs should be on the decline; that, as his Highness had always effected his negotiations, without communicating them to him, he had it now in his power to render him the like, and that, with respect to him, if he was no longer held in estimation, it was solely because such was his own pleasure; that, immediately upon his releasement, he must inevitably become the absolute master of the whole province of Normandy; that it was beneath the dignity of a person in his station, to acknowledge any other (master) than the King himself; that he would appear to great disadvantage in a party, in which the utmost he could expect, must be to hold the fourth rank; that even the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor would have more credit in Paris, than he could expect to acquire; and that, by continuing in his present connections, he would, infallibly, embarrass himself with a number of persons, who could, by no means, maintain an union amongst themselves.

In consequence of these, and similar suggestions, or rather of the state in which affairs then were, or, if it must be so, of the kind of treatment which the Duke de Longueville had experienced, he suddenly adopted a conduct, so opposite to that which he had hitherto pursued, that he no longer seemed to be the same person; upon every occasion firmly resisting the attempts of all those, who endeavoured to set themselves above him, and to subject him to their caprices.

Soon after this long conversation between Mademoiselle de Longueville and her father, she informed M. Servien, that the time was now favourable for opening

opening the negotiation, which had been determined on between them; and that she had made all the necessary preparations: on the receipt of which intelligence, that minister immediately entered upon the business, and soon compleated it, to the full satisfaction both of himself and the court. But he intimated to the Duke de Longueville, that the Queen could not place a thorough confidence in him, so long as his son * should remain at Mouron †, in the hands of the Prince of Condé. He also pressed Mademoiselle de Longueville to urge the matter strongly to her father; which she did with such effect, that, in spite of all the efforts of the Dutchess de Longueville, to prevent the departure of her son from Mouron, the Duke would not be satisfied, at any rate, till he had been delivered up to him.

As these proceedings of the Duke de Longueville were more consonant, at that time, to the supposed character of his daughter, than to his own, the Dutchess de Longueville imputed to her infigations, the whole conduct of that Prince: and it was this circumstance which gave her so great an aversion to Mademoiselle de Longueville; never once reflecting, that she herself was the sole cause of every disagreeable incident which happened to her; and that she had subjected herself to them, as much by the manner in which she had constantly behaved towards the Duke de Longueville, as by all those haughty airs and extravagancies, which had

* John-Louis-Charles d'Orleans, eldest son of the Duke de Longueville.

† A strongly fortified town.

obliged numbers of persons to complain of her to her husband.

The court, ever watchful, having discovered the aversion which the Dutchess de-Longueville, with so little reason, entertained for her daughter-in-law, made use of this circumstance to draw her into a snare, of which she had not the least suspicion, although the design was, nevertheless, sufficiently apparent.

As every proposal made by her daughter-in-law was odious to her, they (the court) persuaded her, that she had advised the Duke, her father, to oblige her to accompany him into Normandy, and, in case of her refusal to comply with his requisition, to cause her to be conducted thither by force. The Dutchess was greatly alarmed at the intelligence of this design, to prevent the execution of which, she caused herself to be, at all times, strictly guarded; and, in the midst of her terror, she was obliged to have recourse to the Prince of Condé, to dissuade her husband from his intention of carrying her with him into Normandy.

Had she been properly informed of the true state of matters, she would have known, that what she desired with so much eagerness, might be obtained without such great difficulty; seeing that nothing was further from her husband's thoughts, than to carry her with him, and that Mademoiselle de Longueville, together with all those other persons, who acted in opposition to her, dreaded that event still more than she herself did, from an apprehension that, should she accompany her husband in this journey, she might re-assume her former influence over him, and might again involve him

in fresh affairs, fatal both to his glory and to his peace.

The Prince of Condé, therefore, at the request of the Dutchess de Longueville, undertook to speak to the Duke on the subject. But, as he was more serviceable to him in his affairs, than his sister, he determined to sacrifice her to him; and, having, accordingly, obtained a promise from the Duke, that he would not compel her to go with him into Normandy, which promise was granted him with very little difficulty, he consented to the proposal of his brother-in-law, that she should retire to Bourges, after having both agreed that her conduct was such, as would not admit of her continuing any longer at Paris. But, as no time was fixed for her departure for Bourges, which journey was much more disgraceful to her, than that to Normandy, in company with her husband, would have been, she still retained some hopes that affairs might take another turn.

Immediately as it had been determined that the Dutchess de Longueville should not go to Normandy, Mademoiselle de Longueville, at the urgent solicitations of the court, pressed her father to hasten his journey; which, through her persuasions, he accordingly did; and, from the very instant of his arrival in that province, he found his power there greater than it had ever been before.

During all these transactions, scarcely a day passed, in which some or other of the Prince of Condé's partizans did not desert him: but the court could not be satisfied till the Duke of Orleans should, also, have abandoned him; as, so long as he should remain connected with him, the defection of all

the

the rest, would prove of very little advantage to the court.

The ministers, who still remained about the Queen's person, formed a scheme by which they effected this design. The stratagem which they made use of was, to sow division amongst the different parties; by which means they rendered abortive the negotiation which the Prince of Condé sought to have concluded with the Queen. In fact, this unforeseen artifice served to plunge the Prince of Condé into a variety of difficulties and dangers, from which he was never able entirely to extricate himself afterwards. The particulars are as follow.

M. Servien acquainted the Prince of Condé, that, as he constantly manifested a great distrust of the promises of the Queen and of Cardinal Mazarin, and as they were desirous of shewing him, with how much sincerity they wished for a reconciliation with him, they had determined to convince him of it, in a different manner, than merely by protestations alone; that he might perceive the esteem which they entertained, not only for him, but for those also whom he honoured with his friendship. The Prince of Condé expressed much satisfaction in this promise, without requiring any further explanation of its tendency.

On the Wednesday in Passion Week *, the council being convened, and the Duke of Orleans also being present, the chancellor Seguier, who was supposed to be in exile, the first president Molé, who was imagined, at the time, to be engaged in the

* In the year 1651.

MEMOIRS OF THE

duties of his office at the *Palais*, and Chavignit, came, very unexpectedly, to take their places amongst the rest: all these three persons were known to be intimate friends of the Prince of Condé, particularly the last, who was devoted to him in the highest degree possible. But they had each of them been obliged to sign an engagement, previous to their admission into the ministry, to support the interests of the Queen and of Cardinal Mazarin, preferably to all others.

The Queen informed the Duke of Orleans, that she had placed them in the council, and that she had taken the seals from Châteauneuf, and had given them to the first president; which highly incensed the Duke; and he replied that, as he had the honour to be uncle to the King and lieutenant-general of the regency, no change of this nature ought to have been made in the council without his participation, and that he would not return thither again, till those appointments should first be rescinded.

The Prince of Condé, on his side, was struck with astonishment, being doubtful whether these changes were for his advantage, or otherwise. However, he retired with the Duke of Orleans, declaring that he could not be satisfied with what had been done, if his Royal Highness was not so likewise. But, when he had reflected a little on the matter, and had taken the opinions of his friends, he perceived that these alterations were prejudicial to his interests; and that they had been made with the view of rendering him suspected: he was, therefore, desirous of justifying himself, and, having re-

One of the ministers of state.

paired,

paired, for that purpose, to the Hotel de Chevreuse, he, with the most terrible oaths, denied having had any knowledge, whatsoever, of the above recent changes in the council: but all was insufficient to procure him credit, and his oaths only served to inspire every one present with horror, because they were all judged to be false: which supposition, however, on this occasion, did him great injustice.

The Duke of Orleans, the *Fronde*, and the public in general, were all firmly persuaded that the Prince of Condé had been concerned in the late transactions; there being, in their opinion, not the least appearance that the Queen, confined as she was, like a prisoner, in the *Palais Royal*, would have dared to have entered upon an affair of this kind, without having previously concerted the necessary measures with that Prince.

Some time afterwards, a meeting was held at the Orleans palace, on the subject of the Duke of Orleans's displeasure against the Queen. The Duke of Beaufort, as usual, spoke very badly, the Coadjutor offered several very violent proposals, and, amongst others, that they should incite the people to make a kind of attack, with stones, upon the *Palais Royal*. Upon which, when the Prince of Condé was requested to give his opinion, he answered, in apparent derision of them, that he was quite unacquainted with the war of flints, and that he must take instructions from those gentlemen, in what manner it was to be carried on: which answer served to encrease still more the distrust which was entertained of him.

The ministers, who negotiated with that Prince, no longer offered him the government of Provence

for his brother; and he found that he must drop all his other pretensions: because, having become suspected by the party in opposition to the court, he was obliged to accept of whatever terms he could obtain.

A negotiation was afterwards opened with the Duke of Orleans, in order to appease his resentment, and he was prevailed on to consent, that those persons should continue in the council, on condition that M. de Châteauneuf should be again put in possession of the seals, and that he should remain in his post of minister of state. The court insinuated that it was in compliment to the Prince of Condé, that they had taken the seals from M. Molé: in consequence of which, as they foresaw and intended, the first president became, instead of the zealous and faithful friend, which he had hitherto been to the Prince of Condé, his most inveterate foe; and which circumstance did infinite prejudice to that Prince's affairs, in the sequel, through the great credit which the first president possessed at that time.

The court, afterwards, requested the Duke of Orleans's consent to the rupture of the marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, which they easily obtained from him: and it was commonly supposed, that his ready compliance on this occasion arose from his apprehensions lest the house of Condé should become too powerful, should this marriage take place.

In the holy week, the Duke of Orleans renewed his attendance upon the Queen, at the *Palais Royal*, whither her Majesty sent for the Prince of Conti, and ordered him not to be in a hurry to conclude

conclude his marriage with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse.

The Prince of Condé and the Dutchess de Longueville had not thought proper to entrust him with the knowledge of their design, to break off the marriage; as that Prince was, of late, become passionately fond of his mistress: but they related to him, a number of circumstances so greatly to her disadvantage, that he now became more eager to receive the Queen's prohibition, than he had ever been to espouse that young Princess.

This excuse, of the Queen's prohibitory orders, wore a very bad appearance, seeing that she was totally destitute of all power, at that time, to enforce obedience to her commands; and as, in the present state of affairs, that alliance having been projected, not only without her Majesty's consent, but also against her inclination, it might easily have been carried into execution, notwithstanding those orders.

The Prince of Condé sent the president Viole to the Dutchess de Chevreuse, to acquaint her with the Queen's orders, and to assure her, at the same time, that, in spite of her Majesty's prohibition, the affair would be postponed only, and not entirely laid aside; and that his brother and he would wait upon her, to explain themselves more fully to her on the subject. But, in debating on the measure necessary to be taken, for the execution of the above promise, the Prince of Condé observed to his brother, that he alone was under an obligation to take that step, as being the most interested party; and that, for his part, he should never be able to prevail on himself to visit either the Dutchess or Mademoiselle de Chevreuse again, from a conviction of the great confusion

and embarrassment into which he should be thrown by such an interview.

The Prince of Conti, with the view of excusing himself from undertaking this business, told him that, being his eldest brother, the matter concerned him most particularly, respecting those kind of apologies; that with regard to the embarrassment into which he was apprehensive of being plunged on the occasion, his must be still greater, as, being the most interested party, he was, consequently, the most deeply engag'd in the affair; and the upshot of this conversation between the two Princes was that, having first turn'd the whole affair into compliments, and those compliments afterwards into jests and pleasantries, they made it the subject of their merriment only; and, finally, although they had sent a message to the Dutchesse de Chevreuse, that they would enter into a personal explanation with her, yet they neither of them kept that promise, nor did they ever visit her afterwards.

And now a strife arose between the two parties, which of them should first cause the guard of citizens to be withdrawn, by which the King and Queen were detained prisoners, in a manner, in the *Palais Royal*.

Thus, therefore, the Prince of Condé broke through all his connections with the *Frondeurs*, and that, too, with the greatest unconcern, on account of the contempt in which he held them; he considered them as the most despicable of mankind, and as being, consequently, incapable of doing him the least prejudice whatever. But what is very surprising in this affair, and is scarcely credible of a person of his known courage and resolution, is that those very men, of whose power he had manifested

so little apprehension, appeared to him, in the course of the same week, to be so formidable, although no incident had happened during the time, which could justify this alteration in his sentiments, that, being upon bad terms with them, he no longer thought himself secure in any place whatever.

The Prince of Condé shewed much more judgment in this dread of the power of the *Frondeurs*, than he had done in his contempt of them. For, no sooner had he dropped his connections with them; than an event happened, which had been universally foreseen, and of which he had never entertained the least notion, although he might naturally have expected it; it happened, I say, that the *Frondeurs* accommodated matters with the court and entered into an union against him; which they effected with very little difficulty; as the Queen was much more desirous of ridding herself of that Prince than of them.

The hatred which the *Frondeurs* in general, and particularly the Coadjutor and the Dutchess de Chevreuse, had conceived against the Prince of Condé and the Dutchess de Longueville, rose to such a height, as to make them forget all their other enmities, even that which they bore to Cardinal Mazarin, with whom they commenced a fresh negotiation, without appearing to be discouraged by the little benefit, which they had derived from their former treaties with him. But in this there was a clause, of a nature so truly extraordinary, that it well deserves to be recorded; which was, that the Coadjutor should be at liberty, on all occasions to inveigh against the conduct of the Cardinal, in order that he might be enabled to maintain the cre-

dit which he had acquired with the people, and, by that means, to render his eminency the more effectual service.

By this new treaty, it was determined again to seize the person of the Prince of Condé. As he no longer came to the *Palais Royal*, on account of the distrust which he had conceived of the designs of the court, they, therefore, could not take any measures for seizing him there.

The Queen, who put no great confidence in that cabal, told them that she would not cause him to be secured at the Hotel de Condé, lest that action should give rise to a tumult in Paris, and should even be productive of much bloodshed. However, a party of the guards were ordered to take post near the Fauxbourg Saint Germain.

The Prince of Condé, who was constantly on his guard, retired, during the night, to St. Maur, and he seemed no otherwise to have profited by the several imprisonments which he had undergone, than by becoming more distrustful than he formerly had been, seeing that he still retained all his other imprudencies.

He sent Vigneul, to acquaint the Dutchesse de Longueville with the place of his retreat, and to inform her, that it was not at all proper that she should repair thither to him: but, in spite of this intimation, and although one of her cheeks was much swelled at the time, she, nevertheless, immediately departed for St. Maur, with the sole view of supporting the reputation which she had acquired, of possessing great credit with her brother. She afterwards complained, that, ill as she was, she had
been

been obliged to take that step, in compliance with his Highness's urgent solicitations, in order the better to persuade the public of the confidence which he placed in her.

The departure * of the Prince of Condé occasioned a very great disturbance, and every one now manifested of what party he was, by repairing either to the *Palais Royal*, or to St. Maur; and those who went to the one place no longer attended at the other. But it was observed, that the number of those who repaired to St. Maur was very small, which circumstance gave great uneasiness to the Prince of Condé; and, when he reflected, that but three months before, the whole kingdom had favoured his cause, he was quite astonished at this alteration.

The great fear which had been, at one time, entertained of the Prince of Condé was now entirely dispelled. This was one of the most fatal consequences which had attended his imprisonment; and, except during the first week after his release, the people never resumed that extreme terror, with which he had formerly inspired them, in spite of all his subsequent attempts to effect that purpose.

On the day after the Prince of Condé had retired from Paris, the Prince of Conti went to the parliament, and informed the assembly, that his brother had sent him, to give them an account of the reasons by which he had been induced to quit the

* In the year 1651.

city, and that, if he had not been thus expeditious in his retreat, he should again, have been put under an arrest; that this was an effect of the hatred which Cardinal Mazarin had long born to him, because he had opposed that minister's return; and that, although the Cardinal was far removed from the court, yet his genius still continued to govern there, in the persons of Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, who were totally devoted to him; that the Prince, his brother, could no longer place any confidence in the Queen, nor could he return, with safety, to the *Palais Royal*, so long as those persons should remain there, and that it was absolutely requisite that they should be dismissed as well as the Cardinal.

This harangue did not, altogether, make that impression on the parliament which the Prince of Condé had expected. Nevertheless, the Prince of Conti attended at several of the subsequent meetings of that assembly, and constantly made use of nearly the same arguments.

The Marshal de Grammont waited on the Prince of Condé from the Queen, to learn the subject of his dissatisfaction. That Prince complained that a design had been formed to seize his person; declaring that he could not be safe till the three ministers should have retired; and that, immediately upon their departure, he would return to Paris, and would pay his respects to the King and to the Queen-Regent.

The Queen, on the other hand, insisted that the Prince of Condé had created all this disturbance, for the sole purpose of obtaining some new advantages,

tages for himself; that he was insatiable, and that the more was granted him, the more he required; that it was but very lately that the government of Guyenne had been conferred on him, and that he still wanted something further, but that she was determined to be no longer his dupe, whatever course he might think proper to take. And, as she did not, at that time, think herself obligated to dismiss her ministers, she also declared, that the whims and caprices of the Prince of Condé shou'd never induce her to remove those who were of her council; that this was merely a pretext, and that, even should they be dismissed, that Prince would find some other subject, whereon to ground fresh complaints.

Although the Cardinal's advice was not always followed whilst he continued absent from court, yet he still possessed a very extensive authority; and, as all applications for favours, and in all other cases of importance, were constantly made to him, this matter, also, was communicated to him, respecting which he wrote word to the Queen, that it was absolutely necessary that she should cause the three ministers to withdraw themselves, in order to deprive the Prince of Condé of every cause for complaint, and to leave him totally without excuse, by making it apparent that his design was only to create a confusion in the state. So that, when it was least expected, the Queen exiled those three ministers to their estates: after which she acquainted the Prince of Condé, that she had yielded to satisfy him in that point also; and that she hoped, after the many concessions which she had made to him,

him, that he would no longer delay to return to his duty.

As the Prince of Condé had never imagined, that the Queen would consent to dismiss those three ministers, neither had he once deliberated, on what answer he should return, in case his demand should be complied with. So that he could never afterwards devise, or alledge any further pretext for his dissatisfaction. It was at that time supposed, that the Cardinal's complaisance on this occasion proceeded, solely, from a desire to render the Prince of Condé still more criminal, in the eyes of the public, in case that he should not make a proper return for the favour shewn him: but this was far from being that minister's principal motive: he had others, still more essential, by which he had been induced to act in the manner above related.

The Queen had acquainted him, that M. Servien had gone too far in his negotiation with the Prince of Condé, with respect to the promise which he made him of the government of Guyenne: and M. de Lyonne, the nephew of M. Servien, having learnt that Cardinal Mazarin entertained that opinion of his uncle, and imagining perhaps, that it had been suggested to him by M. le Tellier, secretly intimated to his eminency, that that minister had of late acquired too great an ascendant over the Queen: which intelligence gave rise to many reflections in the Cardinal's mind: besides, that he was much displeased that, during his absence, so many affairs had been transacted without his participation.

On the other hand, the Dutchess de Chevreuse, the Coadjutor, and the rest of the *Frondeurs*, painted

ed in such glaring colours the Prince of Condé's ingratitude towards them, and his breach of faith, relative to the marriage of his brother, and, in general, to all the other promises which he had made them, that they render'd him odious to a degree scarcely to be conceived.

He was abandoned by every one: none would put the least confidence in him: those only remained attached to his interests, who could not disengage themselves with honour. He now found that the breach of promise, of which he had been so frequently guilty, was not of a nature to be jested on, as he had considered it to be. For he had never, hitherto, made any of those profitable reflections, by which he was, afterwards, led to practise, with such strictness, those solid virtues, of which he was ignorant of the very name at that time.

As that Prince well knew in what manner the *Frondeurs* continually reviled him, he, in return, conducted himself with as little ceremony towards them; and declared, that the Dutchess de Chevreuse had advised him to assume the Regency. Although she positively maintained that this proposal came from himself, every one gave credit to the assertion of the Prince of Condé: for, as he was, at that time, much more powerful than her, he might with ease have taken the regency into his own hands, had he been so inclin'd, and, as she was much better versed in affairs than him, there is great reason to believe that she suggested this council to him. Neither does it appear what could possibly induce him to reject it: for he could not obtain any advantages by an accommodation, which could

could be put in competition with those which he would derive from the possession of the Regency. But that Prince manifested so little forecast in his affairs, in consequence of the trouble and confusion in which he found himself involved, and of the too great confidence which he placed in his own conduct, that he neglected, after his retreat to St. Maur, to secure the assistance of the Count de Carces, who possessed an uncontrollable authority in Provence, whilst he might have effected that design with the most ease, and he never once thought of attempting it, till two days after Carces had entered into an engagement with the court. But, as it has been already observed, it seemed that heaven, ever watchful over the welfare of France, and propitious to the King and to the Queen Regent, constantly rendered that Prince blind to his real interests, so long as they continued in opposition to his duty.

In the mean time, the Duke of Orleans still remained highly irritated. He was the avowed enemy of Cardinal Mazarin, and was much dissatisfied with the Queen and the Prince of Condé, ever since those new ministers had been admitted into the council, without his participation. Actuated by this spirit of resentment, he so effectually balanced the two parties, by his discontent, joined with his natural uncertainty, together with that of the parliament, that he deprived them both of all their power, even without retaining much for himself: and it was a common question, at that time, what was become of the royal authority, seeing that, the Queen-Regent having lost it, it did not appear to have passed into the hands of any one else.

After

After this, the Prince of Condé came several times in person to the parliament, and brought with him a number of armed men, who stationed themselves in the great hall of the *Palais*; and the Queen, also, sent thither whole companies of the guards, with the view of providing for the safety of the Coadjutor, so great was the alteration which had taken place in the different interests.

In one of these assemblies, a greater number of soldiers having attended than usual, the first president Molé observed, that it was very strange, that the place which was set apart for the administration of justice, should thus be converted into a place of arms; and added that, for the purpose of re establishing affairs in their due state of order and tranquility, and of causing those armed men to retire, it would be proper, that each of the members present should undertake to dismiss those who were known to him.

The Coadjutor went to the spot where the tipstaves are stationed, to dismiss the soldiers, in order to satisfy the first president; and the Duke de la Rochefoucault followed him, as if with the intention of causing those of the Prince of Condé's party to retire. But it was only for the purpose of shutting the door against the Coadjutor, who had gone out into the hall, and was in imminent danger, both from the soldiers of the Prince's party, and also from the populace, who were violently incensed against him, because they supposed him to be attached to the interests of Cardinal Mazarin.

The Duke de Brissac, who had taken notice of all that passed, rose from his seat, to open the door to the Coadjutor, that he might return into the assembly,

assembly, and he told the Duke de la Rochefoucault, that, were they in any other place, he would give him a hundred kicks, as he was not worthy of being fought with: they afterwards returned to their places, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, gripping the hand of the Coadjutor and of the Duke de Brissac, said to them, in a half whisper, *I would have strangled you, had it been in my power.* Upon which the Coadjutor replied, calling him by the name which the Fronde had given him, *Do not be so warm, friend La Franchise, nothing can happen betwixt you and I; seeing that you are a coward, and that I am a priest.* Those who were present at this conversation, endeavoured to abate the vehemence of the parties, but without effect: and all that they could do, was to put an end to it by separating them.

Notwithstanding all the spirit which the Prince of Condé possessed, he met with continual rebuffs in the parliament; and the first president, who was no longer his friend, constantly reprehended him in the most public manner, asking him why he did not wait upon the Queen, and whether he meant to set up altar against altar.

During all these assemblies of the parliament, the Prince of Condé still continued to treat with the court, but the terms they offered him were little to his advantage. It was the custom of the court, at that time, to reduce every transaction to the form of a negotiation.

The Prince of Condé, for his part, earnestly wished for an accommodation. He hated all party connections, and he well knew that he was not qualified for them. But the Dutches de Longueville, who

who perceiv'd that she was about to be exiled to Bourges, in conformity to the promise which had been made to her husband, was desirous of war, in order that the Prince of Condé might repair to his government; and in hopes that she might be more serviceable to him in war than in peace, and that, as the Duke de Longueville would not accompany him to Guyenne, he would no longer be so much considered by the Prince of Condé, to her prejudice.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, also, entertained the same sentiments, because he was desirous, at all events, to retire from Paris; being apprehensive lest a Prince, with whose character he was little acquainted, should cause him to be assassinated, or that the *Frondeurs* should procure him to be beaten. So that the Dutchess de Longueville, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault were so importunate with the Prince of Condé, that they, at length, prevailed on him to comply with all that they required of him, although he had not the least esteem, or friendship for either of them.

As they were thoroughly acquainted with his disposition, they availed themselves of his two chief foibles, of which the one was an over attachment to his interest, and the other, the vanity of imagining that his power was at all times greatly dreaded, and that the court must keep on good terms with him at all events. They, therefore, insinuated to him, that the Queen was very apprehensive lest he should form a party, and that if he should take any step which might give her reason to think that such was his intention, or if he should feign a design to repair to Guyenne, the court would immediately

mediately offer him his own terms. So that he easily suffered himself to be persuaded into that belief.

He, therefore, made preparations for his departure, and he previously sent his sister to Bourges, according to the promise he had given her husband.

Mademoiselle de Longueville had been very ill used by her mother-in-law, and the Prince of Condé, at the time that she had never undertaken any thing against them; and now, that she appeared to be totally devoted to the court, and that she was one of the first to wait on the Queen, the Prince of Condé was very assiduous in his attendance on her: he gave her an account of all his affairs; and, by a thousand acts of complaisance, exerted himself to the utmost to engage her in his interests. This, as well as several other circumstances of a more important nature, sufficiently evinces that, at this period of time, those who were the least subjected to the family of Condé, were the most regarded by them.

The interested and unseasonable flatteries, which that Prince lavished on Mademoiselle de Longueville, produced no very favourable effect on her. Her conscience, her judgment, and the interests of her father, all forbid her to be either deceived, seduced, or corrupted by them.

As, at that time, all affairs were regulated by the deliberations of the parliament, the Princes, and all those who were interested therein, constantly attended the meetings of that assembly. The Duke of Orleans, who spoke admirably well on all occasions, frequently appeared there. The Prince of Condé,

Condé, who was destitute of all the requisite qualities of haranguing in public, and who was, moreover, greatly confused with the apprehension of the storms which he saw approaching, made a less advantageous figure there; and he succeeded solely in repartee.

In the mean time, the Queen remarked, with little concern, the small degree of credit which she possessed, in expectation that, as the period of the King's coming of age was near at hand, she should therein find an end to all her troubles, and the abasement of her enemies. Ever since the dismissal of Messrs. Le Tellier, Servien, and Lyonne, she had suffered Messrs. Châteauneuf and De Villeroi * to govern her, in like manner as the others had done, although these latter had betrayed her, in concert with the Dutchess de Chevreuse.

As soon as they found themselves alone in the council, they prevailed on her to issue a declaration, by which she engaged never to recall the Cardinal, without perceiving how far she might thereby prejudice her authority. It is true that it was imagined, at that time, that the Queen took this step with his eminency's consent. But a letter has since appeared from him to the Count de Brienne, in which he complains of it with great bitterness; and appears to be highly offended on the occasion.

The Coadjutor, being now totally at a loss what conduct to pursue, and perceiving that neither of the parties were well affected to him,

* Nicholas de Neuville, Duke de Villeroi, peer and marshal of France.

took it in his head to assume a new tone. He declared his intention to retire from all public business, and to amuse himself, in future, with his birds alone. He did not mean, however, to be credited, and, on the contrary, he was desirous of inducing a belief, that a considerable degree of mystery was couched under this artifice. But, as truth will always discover itself, it was easily judged that the very method which he took to conceal his intentions, served only to make them more apparent than he imagined, and than he desired.

End of Part the Second.

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S

OF THE

DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.

PART THE THIRD.

THE time of the King's coming of age being near at hand, the Prince of Condé plainly perceived, that his situation would afterwards be still more insecure than it had even hitherto been: but, as he was constantly infatuated with the idea of the great consternation, into which the court would be thrown by his departure, he determined to set out for Guyenne without delay.

He resolved, therefore, to absent himself from the ceremony of declaring the King to be of age, and directed his course towards Normandy, to a place where he had appointed a meeting with the Duke de Longueville, in order to try whether he could obtain any assistance from him in his designs.

But, perceiving that his endeavours were ineffectual, and that his brother in law inflexibly persisted in his attachment to the King, and a submission to his orders, and positively refused to return to Paris, he pursued his journey towards his government.

That

That Prince was so prepossessed with the notion that, upon the very first step he should take, the court would offer him a *carte blanche*, that he stopped at various places on his rout, at some of which he continued some time, in expectation of the arrival of courtiers: but, finding that none came, he gave loose to his resentment against those at whose instigations he had undertaken this journey, and, uttering the most terrible invectives against the Prince of Conti, the Dutches de Longueville, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, he told them that they had engaged him in a very ridiculous business, but that they would be tired of it before him, and that they would desert him in the end.

The King having accomplished his thirteenth year on the 5th of September (1651) he appointed the seventh of the same month, for the performance of the ceremony of the declaration, for which purpose he repaired, as was customary, to the parliament. On that occasion, he returned thanks to the Queen, his mother, for her care of him during her regency; but he made no acknowledgements to the Duke of Orleans, although, in quality of lieutenant-general of the crown, he also had had a share in the regency, which circumstance gave great offence to the Duke. But the court feigned to be totally ignorant of his dissatisfaction, which many persons eagerly endeavoured to augment.

A short time before the conclusion of the regency, the seals had been taken from Châteauneuf, and had been given to the first president Mole. But, as it was impossible for the same person to execute the functions of both these offices, that of chancellor and that of first president, the seals were

were suffered to remain in the hands of the chancellor for a few days only. The superintendency of the finances, also, was taken from the president de Maisons, and was conferred on the Marquis de la Vieuville.

The court considered the above proceedings of the Prince of Condé as so many acts of hostility, and they caused a declaration against him to be drawn up, which was sent to the Duke of Orleans, for his approbation. He returned it with the alteration of two lines only: from whence it was imagined that he approved of the rest. Nevertheless, when this declaration was delivered to the parliament, he opposed it with the utmost vehemence; which greatly surprized the Queen and the ministers; but they were necessitated to bear with this, as well as with many other disagreeable circumstances.

The Coadjutor was nominated to the cardinalship; but few people imagined that this would have any effect: for it was easy to conceive that, after all that had passed, the court had no other intention than to deceive him with false hopes.

Immediately after the Prince of Condé's departure, the court took the resolution to follow him, in order that he might not have leisure to regulate his affairs. The Queen was highly rejoiced, also, to have it in her power to extricate the King and herself from the state of imprisonment, in which they had long been detained in Paris, where they had never been in safety from the first commencement of the cabals of the *Fronde*.

The Prince of Condé passed through Berry, which province he caused to declare itself in his favour.

as he did Guyenne, also, afterwards. But, immediately upon the King's approach, those provinces returned to their duty, with still greater alacrity than they had shewn in espousing the interests of the other party. The Duke de Rohan-Chabot caused Angers, of which place he was governor, under the Prince of Condé, to declare for the court, and the Duke du Dognon did the same with respect to Brouage and Rochelle, under pretext of his obligations to the Duke de Brezé.

With regard to the Duke du Dognon, he was attacked meerly for appearance sake, for he made not the least resistance. It is thought that, before he quitted Paris, he effected his accommodation with the court, by virtue of which he obtained a staff of marshal of France, as a compensation for his governments.

The Duke de Nemours followed the Prince of Condé to Guyenne, for no other reason than that he had embarked in his cause; for, in fact, he was not altogether satisfied with his conduct towards him.

The Prince de Tarente, without well knowing why, joined him just at the time when every one else was receding from his party. But, as gratitude was not the favourite virtue of the Princes of the house of Condé, they manifested but a small degree of it for a man, who came without either troops or places at his command, which might be serviceable to their party. All that the Prince of Condé said, when he heard that he was coming, was: *What shall we do with Tarente! who could send him to us!*

This Prince was not more fortunate in the sequel. For, he and the Duke de la Rochefoucault
having

having laid siege to Coignac, and the bridge having broken down after a part of their troops had crossed the river, they with regret saw themselves unable to prevent the King's forces from defeating all those of theirs that had passed over; in consequence of which they were constrained to raise the siege.

The Prince of Condé reproached them in the sharpest terms on the occasion, telling them, amongst other things, that they had not been able to take Coignac, whereas the very shadow and the boot of Marlin would have effected it in an instant. What gave that Prince so much uneasiness for having failed in his design on Coignac was, that he had hoped, by the possession of that place, to secure himself, at all times, a retreat out of the province; and, moreover, that he had engaged, as soon as he should have made himself master of it, to have carried the war into another part of the kingdom; which engagement his bad success rendered him incapable of fulfilling.

Moreover, the King continued to advance further into Guyenne, which circumstance proved very detrimental to the Prince of Condé's interests in that province, and even served in a great measure, to abate the zeal of all his partizans in general: besides, he was very badly served by those whom he had employed, and whom he had furnished with money, for the purpose of levying troops for his service, and who did not raise the tenth part of the number which he had reason to expect, and of which they had given him hopes. His situation must, therefore, have become totally desperate from that very instant, but for a resolution which the Cardinal took, to return to Paris,

by which step he himself retrieved the affairs of that Prince. Hence it was commonly observed, at that time, that the chiefs of the different parties derived greater advantage from the faults of their adversaries, than from the prudence of their own conduct. The reasons which induced the Cardinal to take the above resolution were as follow.

The public constantly entertained a notion that Cardinal Mazarin stood high in the Queen's favour, and that, in order to effect his return, she would willingly sacrifice the whole kingdom: but the Cardinal himself perceived that she was very well reconciled to his absence. Of this the ministers were convinced still more strongly. But, as Châteauneuf and Villeroi would have found it difficult to have possessed themselves so entirely of her favour, as to have excluded every one else, and as they were not inclined to suffer the designs which they had formed, of getting the whole direction of affairs into their own hands, to appear as yet; knowing, moreover, the Queen's partiality for her relations and for foreigners, they introduced Prince Thomas * de Savoy, her cousin german, into the ministry, to supply the place of Cardinal Mazarin.

This Prince was not possessed of any shining abilities, but he had, nevertheless, the best intentions whatever, and was well acquainted with the art of war, although he had always been unsuccessful

* Thomas-Francis de Savoy, Prince de Carignan, grand-master of France, generalissimo of the King's armies in Italy: he died, at Turin, in 1656. He was the son of, Charles-Emanuel, Duke de Savoy.

cessful in that profession. Moreover, he sometimes manifested a degree of good sense; but this was but seldom, seeing that he stammered, spoke very thick, expressed himself in bad French, and was, withal, afflicted with deafness. All the dispatches were drawn up in his presence, and the Queen placed great confidence in him. But what will appear very extraordinary is, that he possessed the first place in the Queen's favour, and the almost supreme direction of affairs, without once perceiving, in the least, the power which he had acquired.

The Cardinal, who was better acquainted with what passed than the Prince himself was, felt much uneasiness on account of the transactions which were carrying on at court, and was apprehensive lest, if he should continue absent much longer, he might find it difficult to effect his return at any rate. Madame de Navailles, the wife of a man who was closely attached to his eminency, pressing the Queen one day to recall him, that Prince answered her in the following terms: "You may well imagine that no one wishes so earnestly as I do to see him here again; but the poor man is unfortunate: affairs go on very well in the hands of these people, and it is necessary that, before his return, some vigorous measures should be carried into execution against the Prince of Condé."

What the Queen said to that lady, and what the Cardinal learnt from various other quarters, determined him to return at all events, and impressed him with a notion, that any longer delay would be attended with certain ruin to him.

As he had ever retained a great influence over the Queen and the ministers, he no sooner ac-

quainted them that it was necessary that he should return, and that it would be proper that the King should send him orders on that head, than they found themselves obliged to yield their concurrence, although with regret; and Prince Thomas was the only person who sincerely wished for his return, because he did not foresee that he should, in consequence, be depriv'd of his post.

Châteauneuf and Villeroi, without appearing openly to oppose the measure, caused Bartet, the secretary of the council, to draw up the letter which the Cardinal required from the King: and they singled out this Bartet for the above purpose, because they knew him to be totally devoted to the Coadjutor, to whom they doubted not but that he would communicate the whole affair, nor were they deceived in their expectations. Bartet immediately gave intelligence of it to the Coadjutor, who had conceived a fresh disgust against the court, on account that a creation of Cardinals had lately taken place, in which he had not been included.

As soon as the Coadjutor learnt that the letter in question had been dispatched, he informed the Duke of Orleans, who had remained at Paris, of this innovation. His Royal Highness was greatly incensed on the occasion: he communicated the matter to the parliament, and neglected nothing to inflame the resentments of that assembly, in which he succeeded without much difficulty, as those gentlemen were already sufficiently disposed to his purpose. It was determined to send two of the members of their body to the Cardinal, to require

him to desist from his intention of returning into the kingdom.

This intelligence raised the resentment of the *Fronde* against the court to a still higher pitch than ever. The general animosity became so violent, that fire and sword were, in consequence, carried into various parts of the kingdom; and the court was obliged to put off the further execution of their designs against the Prince of Condé to another opportunity, and to return to Paris; but they stopped on their rout, to wait the arrival of Cardinal Mazarin, who was then upon the road, attended by the Marshal d'Hoquincourt*, at the head of a large body of troops.

The pretext which his eminency made use of for returning at this time was, that, having learnt that the King was at war with the Prince of Condé, he had deemed it his duty to raise a body of forces, and to lead them to his Majesty's assistance: but it proved a very fatal assistance to France, causing the loss of many places, and the death of many persons, and raising up a far greater number of enemies against the Queen, than those troops were able to quell.

Prince Thomas beheld all these transactions with infinite pleasure, because he imagined that the advantages which accrued to him from thence, being procured him by Cardinal Mazarin, would be augmented upon that minister's return; and he entertained a distrust of those persons, alone, who, had in reality favoured him. But he was greatly surprized to find himself afterwards excluded

* Charles de Monchi d'Hoquincourt, marshal of France: he was killed at the siege of Dunkirk in 1658.

248 MEMOIRS OF THE DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.
 from all share whatever in the management of affairs; The Queen, however, still retained a great regard for him; but this only served to render his situation still more unfortunate: for the Cardinal, who did not believe him to be of so weak a character as he really was, ever afterwards considered him in the light of a man, who had intended to supplant him in his post.

Châteauneuf was dismissed from the court, and Villeroi would have experienced the same fate, but for his superior address and abject submission. The Queen was reduced to the most unfortunate situation imaginable: the whole kingdom was irreconcilably incensed against her, for persisting thus obstinately in maintaining the Cardinal in his post, in spite of all consequences: and that minister entertained little less enmity to her, on account of the discovery which he had made, of her having been disinclined to his return. He determined, therefore, as the King was now of age, to establish himself in his favour, independently of the Queen; and even to deprive that Princess of all share in the direction of affairs, and, also, of all manner of influence over the King; to effect which he ever afterwards laboured with unremitting assiduity; according to the testimony of those, who were well acquainted with every transaction, however secret, which happened during the regency.

Various, therefore, were the interests and the apprehensions by which the court was agitated*, when, at length, the Cardinal arrived, accompanied by the Marshal d'Hoguincont, who commanded his escort.

* In the year 1652.

It was imagined that that minister would re-assume all that power, which he had always hitherto possessed: and the Queen expressed the utmost joy for his return, although it plainly appeared afterwards, that she was not altogether so well pleased on the occasion as she affected to be.

It is true, nevertheless, that she, at first, found great satisfaction in thus having a person on whom she could rely, and who eased her of the embarrassment of all public affairs: but this did not last long; and she would willingly, in the sequel, have had less leisure and more trouble, and have preserved her authority entire. Cardinal Mazarin no longer communicated any thing to her of what passed, and he did not even shew her the respect to which she was entitled from him; which kind of conduct the Queen could ill brook; seeing that, during the absence of the Cardinal, the ministers had always manifested an implicit submission to her will, and had appeared to consider themselves as being totally dependent upon her: in short, they had, in every case, conducted themselves towards her with all that deference which is due to a sovereign. But, since the arrival of Cardinal Mazarin, both the ministry and the court had undergone a total change of appearance.

With respect to the city of Paris, nothing was talked of there but war, and the Duke of Orleans declared his resolution to take up arms, in order to oblige the Cardinal once more to quit the kingdom.

Many persons accepted of commissions to raise troops, which were destined to the execution of this design. The parliament seemed disposed to adopt

the like sentiments; but, although those gentlemen proceeded to greater lengths, both against the court, and against the minister, than they had ever hitherto done, as will be seen in the sequel, they could not be prevailed on to issue the edict of union with the Duke of Orleans, which they had so readily granted in the first war of Paris.

The Duke de Nemours went to Flanders, with the view of raising some Spanish troops for the service of the Prince of Condé, and he returned from thence at the head of a very numerous army. In the mean time, the Duke de Longueville continued in Normandy, with a power so great, that no subject had ever acquired the like before. The whole province was determined to pay an implicit obedience to his will, whatever it might be, and to join with that party into which he should think proper to lead them.

The situation of that province renders it of great importance to the city of Paris, on account of the river: for which reason a connection with the Duke de Longueville was earnestly courted by all parties; and, although he was firmly persuaded, that the Prince of Condé had entered into treaty with the court, without his participation, at the time of his releasement from prison, he was still very unwilling to acknowledge to him, that he had taken some measures with that party; besides, the Duke de Longueville was naturally averse to refuse any request that was made to him: so that he could not prevail on himself to reject entirely the Prince of Condé's application, nor that of the Duke of Orleans, although he constantly paid into the King's hands all the revenues of the province.

Saint-Ibal was deputed to him by the Duke of Orleans; and the Prince of Condé sent the Marquis de Montataire, lieutenant-captain of the Burgundian regiment of light-horse, and marshal-de-camp in his army, although still very young. Both of them exerted all their endeavours, to induce the Duke de Longueville to enter into the party of the *Fronde*.

The Duke of Beaufort himself, who had formerly been more eager than any one else, to engage the Duke de Longueville in a connection with the court, also sent a person into Normandy, to urge him to unite himself with the *Fronde*; and that solely from his natural propensity to change his party continually; and, also, because he never thought that sufficient justice was done to his merit.

On the other hand, Mademoiselle de Longueville, the first president of the parliament of Rouen, and the Cardinal's friends, pressed him still more earnestly to side with the court: in short, never was a person so tormented.

Would he have declared his sentiments with a little more freedom, his favour, it is true, would have been less courted, but, to make amends, he would have avoided numberless importunities. For he was never suffered to enjoy a moment's relaxation, and no sooner had one party drawn off, than another returned to the charge. It is certain, however, that this mode of conduct produced a very favourable effect: for, with all his irresolution, he prevented the entrance of any troops into Normandy, which whole province remained in a state of tranquility, at a time when every other part of the kingdom was subjected to the miseries of war: which

charmed the Normans; who are naturally self-interested, and long rendered that Prince's memory very dear to them.

In order to counterwork the designs and enterprizes of the *Fronde*, the court recalled not only those troops which had been destined to act against the Prince of Condé, but also those which were upon the frontiers: from whence it happened that, in that single campaign, the Spaniards made themselves masters of Dunkirk, Graveline, Barcelona and Casal. France was even within a hair's breadth of losing Alsace, also, in consequence of an incident which I shall here relate: but, in order to explain the affair more at large, it will be necessary to revert further back.

After the death of Erlac, who was governor of Brisac, a person named Charlevoi found himself possessed of an absolute command in that place, in consequence of the great credit which he had acquired with the garrison. It was feared that, availing himself of the troubles of the times, he would stand upon too high terms, or, perhaps, that he might not consent to accept of any conditions whatever, and might enter into treaty with the Emperor, to keep possession of that place for himself, acknowledging no other sovereign than that Prince.

As Charlevoi had ever been closely attached to the Marshal de Guebriant*, the Marshal's wi-

* John-Baptist de Budes, Count de Guebriant, marshal of France: he was killed, in 1643, before Rotweil, in Germany, which place he besieged and took,

down, who was well acquainted with his disposition, and who knew what he was capable of, undertook to negotiate with him in behalf of the court. But she succeeded in her negotiation by such extraordinary means, at least, if credit is to be given to the report that was current at that time, that I doubt whether any one else would either have rendered, or accepted of a service on such terms.

The particulars of the above report are as follows. The widow of the Marshal, it is said, knew that the female sex had a great influence over Charlevoi, and that he was blindly devoted to them. She, therefore, took with her a young lady of great beauty, and of a pliant disposition, to inspire him with such sentiments as she wished him to entertain: so that she had only to prescribe to her the mode of conduct she would have her to pursue.

The Marshal's widow came to Brisac, accompanied by this young lady, in order to negotiate with Charlevoi; and, in a little tour which she made, to view the curiosities of the place, she gave him every opportunity of seeing and conversing with the person whom she had brought with her. As she was handsome, and of a coquish disposition, she easily attracted the notice of Charlevoi, who attached himself very closely to her. She, on her side, whose sole business it was to please, and not to be cruel, conducted herself towards Charlevoi with no greater reserve than what she

† Renée du Bec, widow of the Marshal de Guebriant, she died, at Perigueux, in 1659.

judged

judged requisite to the furtherance of the designs of Madame de Guebriant, who, perceiving the connection between them sufficiently established for the execution of her plan, quitted Brisac, and retired to a house at some distance from the city, whither she had been accustomed to go from time to time. Here she feigned to be taken ill, that she might have an excuse for not returning to Brisac: she caused the abovementioned lady to appoint a meeting, at that house, with Charlevoi, with whom it was necessary to use some such artifice, to induce him to quit Brisac: and, upon his arrival, he was immediately put under arrest, and was conducted as a prisoner to Philibourg.

Some time before this, the Count d'Harcourt had been appointed to the government of Brisac, as a reward for having escorted the Princes of Condé and Conti, and the Duke de Longueville to Havre; as it was usual, at that time, for every one to sell his services at a very dear rate.

The Count d'Harcourt, therefore, having Charlevoi in his power, and the garrison of Brisac not having been changed; he made a proposal to his prisoner to set him at liberty, in case he would surrender that place up to him: which Charlevoi accordingly executed.

By this means, the Count found himself in possession of the two chief places in Alsace, and, with the troops which he had with him, he laid siege to Bréfort, under the pretext that the Count de Suze*, who commanded there, was in the

* Gaspard de Champagne, Count de la Suze. He was the husband

the interest of the Prince of Condé. The court learnt all these particulars with infinite concern: but they had it not in their power to apply any remedy to the evil.

Although the King was now of age, yet the Duke of Orleans, nevertheless, caused himself to be declared, at Paris, lieutenant general of the kingdom. Matters were carried still further: a price was set on the head of Cardinal Mazarin, notwithstanding that his dignity of Cardinal exempted him from the jurisdiction of the parliament.

The Duke of Orleans, knowing that the King intended to direct his course towards the Isle of France, and fearing lest he should make himself master of Orleans, sent Mademoiselle*, his daughter, thither, who, finding the gates closely shut, effected an entrance at a window, after which she caused the city to declare itself in favour of her father, and obliged the King, who came there the next day, to take another rout.

The Duke of Beaufort, who commanded the army of the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke de Nemours, who was at the head of that of the Prince of Condé, united their forces. The Duke de Nemours had received secret instructions from the Prince of Condé to advance towards Guyenne, and the Duke of Beaufort, on the other hand, had been enjoined by the Duke of Orleans not to remove to too great a distance from Paris. As they could not confide in each other, and as a great disagreement of Henrietta de Coligni, famous, under the title of Countess de la Suze, for the excellent poems which she wrote: she died in 1678.

* Ann-Mary-Louisa d'Orleans, Dutchess of Montpensier: she died, unmarried, in 1693.

ment in opinion subsisted between them: this, added to their former mutual inveteracy, produced a quarrel between those two noblemen, which might have terminated fatally on the spot, had not Mademoiselle, who was returning from Orleans to Paris, effected a reconciliation between them.

Afterwards, the Prince of Condé, who did not find his affairs go on prosperously in Guyenne, quitted that province, leaving there the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville; and, having traversed the whole kingdom, in disguise, at length joined the army of the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, after which junction, they gave battle, near Gergeau, to the Marshal d'Hoquincourt, whom they defeated.

The Coadjutor had been nominated to the Cardinalship, solely with the view of deluding him: and the court, therefore, did not hesitate to send a courier, some time afterwards, to Rome, to revoke the appointment: information of which design having been given to the Bailly de Gondy, by a courier sent to him, for that purpose, by the Coadjutor, he amused and detained the messenger from the court, under the pretext of regaling him well. At the same time, he secretly dispatched a letter, with all expedition, to the Pope, Innocent the Xth*, who he knew bore a violent hatred to Cardinal Mazarin: and he therein acquainted the Pontiff that, if he was inclined to promote the Coadjutor to the Cardinalship, there was no longer any time to be lost, as there was then at Florence a

* John-Baptist Pamphilio, styled Innocent the Xth; he died in 1655.

undisputed for the management of affairs, and as a courier, capable of pleasing and amusing her. They accordingly carried that design into execution; and

DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS. 217
 courier, who was on his rout to Rome, to evoke his appointment.

The Pope, who esteemed the Coadjutor, more on account of his enmity to Cardinal Mazarin, than from any other consideration, made all possible haste to give him the hat, before it could be imagined that he had received the King's letters, appointing another person in his stead; which other was the Abbé de la Rivière: and it was in this manner that he admitted the Coadjutor to the Cardinalship; which surprized and incens'd the court to a very great degree.

I shall here relate the particulars of what passed in Guyenne, during the second war of Paris; and in order to gave a clearer idea of the matter, I think it proper to resume the recital from the time of the Prince of Condé's first arrival in that province.

A secretary of the Prince of Conti took it in his head to attempt to gain an influence over the Dutchesse de Longueville: he represented to Mademoiselle de Verpilliers, who was one of her maids of honour, and who stood high in her favour, that, so long as the Duke de la Rochefoucault should govern her, as he had great abilities, and as the Dutchesse was but too well convinced of that truth, she would never follow any other than his advice, and that the counsel of other persons would be little heeded by her; that thus, in order to procure to themselves a share of her confidence, it would be necessary to introduce to her some new friend, who should be young, handsome, totally unqualified for the management of affairs, and capable only of pleasing and amusing her. They, accordingly, carried that design into execution; and,

and, the letter to insure its success, they introduced M. de Nemours, although formerly he had not been able to render himself agreeable to her, notwithstanding the violent passion which he manifested for her, and all his good qualities and genteel address; and all that render'd him supportable to her was, the promise which he made her, to desert Madame de Châtillon * for her sake, and the pleasure which she felt in depriving a woman whom she hated of a friend of that consequence.

This connection caused an absolute rupture between her and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who, having for some time past been very desirous of quitting her, embraced this opportunity with the utmost joy.

From the time that he ceased to advise her, she appeared no longer to know what she did: and at Bourdeaux she conducted herself in so extraordinary and so extravagant a manner, that the like was never seen before in a person of her rank.

The Prince of Condé, having judged it necessary to retire from Guyenne, appeared to have committed the management of his affairs, during his absence, to the care of his brother and sister; but all power remain'd, in reality, in the hands of Marfin and Lené, who possessed his confidence, and to whom he had given his secret orders. That Prince, at his return to Bourdeaux, sent a body of troops to the relief of Mouron.

But to return to what passed, during this time,

* Elizabeth Angelica de Montmorenci, second daughter of Francis de Bouteville.

both at court and at Paris; and to finish the recital, I shall next observe, that the Prince of Condé, on his arrival at that city from Guyenne, and from the army, imagined himself to stand well in the favour of the Duke of Orleans, who behaved to him with great civility: but, as soon as he learnt that Cardinal de Retz had conferred with him several times, or, at least, that he had repaired to the Duke's palace, in a secret manner, and had been conducted to his presence up a back staircase, that Prince appeared to be totally beside himself, and he no longer knew what measures to pursue: so much was he confounded on the occasion.

On the other hand, the Duke de Bouillon perceiv'd, as did several other persons, also, who were in the secret of affairs at court, that it was not altogether impossible to obtain a share of the Queen's confidence, and even to acquire a greater degree of credit with her than what the Cardinal possessed, since she herself had sometimes complained, with very little reserve, of the extreme want of respect which that minister had manifested towards her, ever since his return.

As the Duke de Bouillon was possessed of greater abilities and penetration than Prince Thomas could boast of, he also turned to better advantage the credit which he had acquired with the Queen. Even at a time when the Cardinal was present, he obtained her consent, that his family should be admitted, in future, to rank as Princes; and his eminency, who could not hinder the measure from taking place, in order to conceal from the world this encreasing influence of the Duke de Bouillon, caused

caused the same privilege to be granted to the house of Rohan.

The Queen, just at this time*, conferred the title of Duke on M. de Créqui: and, that it might not, in like manner, be thought, that the Queen granted favours of her own free impulse and authority, Cardinal Mazarin caused her Majesty to bestow the same dignity on M. de Roquelaure†. But that minister could find no remedy against the resolution which was subsequently taken, to put the superintendency of the finances into the hands of the Duke de Bouillon.

It was proposed that the Cardinal should retire for some time, in order to appease the ferment which had arisen in Paris, and in various other parts of the kingdom, on occasion of his return. Many were strongly of opinion, that this suggestion came from the Cardinal himself, who was desirous of giving the nation that satisfaction. But Frouillé having publicly asked him one day, when he intended to depart, he was so much offended at the question, and returned so harsh an answer, that it was plainly to be seen that he did not at all approve of the determination.

However, he thought proper to withdraw himself very soon afterwards. But, as his good fortune was superior to all that could be attempted against him, the Duke de Bouillon died, just at

* In the year 1652.

† Charles de Créqui, the third of that name, Duke de Créqui: he died in the post of governor of Paris.

‡ Gaston, Duke de Roquelaure, Marquis de Biran: he died in 1683.

this time, of the spotted fever, at Pontoise*. This nobleman had been the most dangerous enemy that he ever had, both on account of his personal credit with the Queen-Mother, and also of the influence, which his post of superintendant of the finances would have given him; and, added to that, on account of the authority which the Marshal de Turenne, his brother, possessed in the army.

The court drew very near to Paris†, and an attack was even made, by the King's troops, on the suburb of Saint Antoine. They did not force it, as they pretended: but neither were they totally repulsed: which rendered the advantage nearly equal on both sides.

Of the court party, Manchini, Saint Maigrin, the Chevalier de la Vieuville, and Nantouillet were killed; and on the side of the *Fronde*, Flamarin, La Roche-Giffard, and the Baron de Castries. The Duke de Nemours was wounded in the hand, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault received a large wound in his eye.

Although the King's troops had been unsuccessful in their attempt to force an entrance into Paris, yet the Prince of Condé very fortunately obtained admission for his army, which had been obliged to make a circuit round the city, in order to take possession of that suburb.

The people were no longer attached to the *Fronde* in this second war, as they had been at the time of the first, and the citizens even shut the gates against the Prince of Condé. But Mademoiselle, who was much esteemed by the people, persuaded

* On the 9th of August 1652. † Gaston, Duke de Rohan, was killed.

† In the year 1652.

them to suffer his troops to pass through the city: by which he rendered him so essential a service, that his life must, otherwise, have been exposed to imminent danger.

Some time afterwards, the Duke of Orleans sent to solicit succours from the Spaniards, and from the Duke of Lorrain*. The latter led his troops into France in person; and what will appear very extraordinary, and very surprizing is, that M. Seguier, the chancellor of France, who had entered into the party of the *Fronde*, obliged his son-in-law, the Duke de Sully, to grant a passage to the Spaniards through Mantes, of which place he was governor.

How eager soever the Duke of Lorrain might have been to march to the assistance of the Duke of Orleans, his brother-in-law, he was not less so to return home again; and the King of England†, who negotiated with him on behalf of the court, offered him a sum of money, of which he accepted, without appearing to give himself much concern about the party which he had so lately entered into, and which he now abandoned. The Dutches of Orleans‡ felt so great a chagrin on the occasion, that it was thought it would have proved her death; which circumstance did not much affect the Duke, her brother.

The Dukes of Nemours and Beaufort, who had long been at variance, became reconciled to each

* Charles the VIIIth, Duke of Lorrain: he died in 1675.

† Charles the II, King of England, who had, at that time, taken refuge in France: he died in 1685.

‡ Margaret de Lorraine, Dutches of Orleans, youngest daughter of Francis, Count de Vaudemont: she died at Paris, in 1672.

other at the time of the battle in the suburb Saint Antoine; but their union was but of short duration. The Duke of Orleans established a council at Paris, at which they both attended, and, a dispute which arose between them for precedence having revived their ancient jealousies and virulence, the Duke de Nemours sent a challenge to the Duke of Beaufort, in consequence of which a duel ensued, and the former was shot dead on the spot by his antagonist*. This combat was of five on a side, and there were two others killed besides the Duke.

In a short time afterwards, the people seemed to be seized with a kind of frenzy, which appeared all on a sudden, no one being able to discover who first gave rise to it. This shewed itself in a custom which they had adopted, of wearing straw on their cloaths, as a badge of a good *Frondeur*, and of a person zealously affected to the cause. To such a height was this frenzy carried, that those who did not conform to the above custom, were reputed to be *Mazarins*, and were constantly in imminent danger of their lives; so that every one, without exception, was obliged to wear this distinguishing mark of his party: inasmuch that it was common to see even the ecclesiastics with large wisps of straw on their habits.

The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé were desirous that the corporation of Paris should demand a junction with the parliament and the Princes; and that they should confirm the lieute-

* In the year 1652.

nant generalship of the Duke of Orleans, which had been ratified by the parliament.

For that purpose a numerous assembly was convened at the Hotel de Ville, at which were present not only the sheriffs and the city counsellors, but also a great number of the members of the superior courts, who attended in quality of colonels of the city-guard in their respective quarters, and the Marshal de l'Hôpital*, as governor of Paris.

As soon as they were assembled, the whole *Grève* was filled with persons, who appeared to be no other than the populace: but, by their subsequent conduct, they plainly proved that they were nothing less than what they appeared to be.

They began with threatening those of the assembly to kill and to burn them, if they did not comply with every thing that was required of them; and, without knowing what was done in the assembly, they fired a number of pieces, and attempted to climb up to the windows of the Hotel de Ville; from whence those who were within fired upon them in return: and what plainly demonstrated that the assailants were soldiers was, that, instead of being thrown into disorder by this attempt to check them, they continued to advance still nearer. It has even been reported, that some of them were overheard to make use of the words *Bourgogne* and *Condé*, the titles of the Prince of Condé's two regiments, by way of watch-words.

They carried their insolence so far, at last, as to place a number of faggots about the gate and to set them on fire. Those who were in the Hotel

* Francis de l'Hôpital, Count de Rosni, Marshal of France, governor of Paris: he died in 1668.

de Ville, perceiving that they were in imminent danger of being burnt, that the gate was already in flames, and that they should be suffocated by the smoke, if they continued there any longer, ventured to quit the place; but they did not render their condition any better by this means. A great number of them were killed; and it was observed that the misfortune fell chiefly on the most distinguished *Frondeurs*, amongst whom perished Miron and Janvri.

The Marquis de l'Hôpital, the governor of the city, against whom the vengeance of the rioters was particularly directed, was very much embarrassed on the occasion. He concealed his blue ribbon, and disguised himself so successfully, that he escaped out of their hands, as if by a miracle, and retired from the city.

It is not rightly known by whom this violent tumult was first set on foot. Each of the different parties disavowed it. But the most common opinion, was, that, the Prince of Condé intending only to alarm the fears of the assembly at the Hotel de Ville, in order to prevent them from deliberating on any matters but what should be approved by him, the soldiers had exceeded their orders. It is said that a man of high rank, who appeared, nevertheless, to be strongly attached to the court, had suggested to the Prince of Condé, that it would be necessary for him to give some public proofs of his power and authority, in order to render his accommodation with the court more advantageous.

There were even some politicians who were of opinion, that certain emissaries of the court had excited the troops to commit these violences, purposely to give the people a disgust to the Princes.

In short, I neither know what the intention was, nor who were the first promoters of this tumult: but they were held in the utmost abhorrence by the people, who began to be weary of the war, and who no longer entertained the least degree of that attachment, which they had formerly shewn towards the *Fronde*.

The Duke of Orleans, who was known to be incapable of such violences, was never accused of being a party in this transaction: accordingly, intelligence of the affair was carried to him in all haste. He instantly sent Mademoiselle and the Duke of Beaufort, who chanced to be with him at the time, to appease the people, and to effect the releasement of those who were penned up in the Hotel de Ville.

These personages were, therefore, sent by the Duke of Orleans to the Hotel de Ville, for the purpose of appeasing the tumult. But, instead of hastening thither, they amused themselves with disputing by the way, which of them had the greatest share of credit amongst the people. Mademoiselle insisted, that the Duke of Beaufort would not be safe but for her presence; whilst he, who particularly valued himself on his popularity, maintained, that it was to him that she stood indebted for her own security. But, at length, they perceived that their contest was not only very useless, but even dangerous also, as the evil became more and more urgent: which obliged them to advance towards the spot with all possible dispatch, to put an end to the tumult: which, however, was effected more by the secret orders of the Prince of Condé, than by their presence.

Madame de Rhodes, having some affairs to transact

act with the Cardinal, had met him at the hotel of the Princess Palatine, when the news was brought thither of the fire, and of the massacre at the Hotel de Ville; and, as she had a great affection for the Marshal de l'Hôpital, who was her father-in-law, the intelligence caused her to fall into a swoon.

The Cardinal, judging that he should derive considerable advantage from the event which had just been communicated to him, and presuming that he no longer stood in need of the assistance of any person, gave himself little concern about what Madame de Rhodes might have to suggest to him, and quitted her very abruptly, whilst she was yet in a state of insensibility. When she came to herself, she was so violently exasperated at the great neglect which the Cardinal had shewn, both of her, and of her negotiations, that the chagrin which she felt on the occasion occasioned her death, in less than four days afterwards: and what still contributed to it, was the long distance which she was obliged to go on foot, in order to return to the city without being discovered.

Every one, instead of pitying her, made a jest of her death, as having been guilty of a very silly action: and, with the view of making her appear still more ridiculous, it was further reported, that she had been disguised in the habit of a Cordelier, at the conference which she had with the Cardinal, and that various dresses of Carmelites, Minims, Augustines; in short, of all the different religious orders, had been found in her wardrobe after her decease.

The Duke of Beaufort was appointed governor

of Paris, in the room of the Marshal de l'Hôpital, and Broussel was promoted to the office of provost of the merchants. It is requisite to observe in this place, that the Prince of Condé was now become so neglectful and inconsiderate, that he did not send any troops to the relief of St. Maur, till after that place had surrendered.

Notwithstanding all this confusion in the conduct of the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Orleans and he jointly sent a deputation to the Archduke, to solicit his assistance. He, a second time, sent the Duke of Lorraine into France, but with so positive an order to continue there as long as his assistance should be wanted, that he, in consequence, became as closely attached to the party, as he had, at first, been regardless of its interests.

M. de Chavigni, who had formerly done so much for the service of the *Fronde*, now used all his endeavours to effect the destruction of that party, with the view of acquiring thereby the favour of the court. He, therefore, first undertook to bring about the accommodation of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Prince of Condé, both at the same time. Afterwards he employed himself to negotiate that of the Prince of Condé independently of that of the Duke of Orleans: but, finding this impracticable, he altered his plan, and sought to effect that of the Duke of Orleans separately from that of the Prince of Condé.

He commonly went to court of an evening to negotiate these affairs, and never employed any agent whatever on the occasion. Insomuch that this manner of proceeding might have continued secret for some time

time longer, had not the Prince of Condé's scouts seized a messenger carrying some letters, by which the whole intrigue was brought to light. And when, some time afterwards, M. de Chavigni, who was totally ignorant of what had happened, visited the Prince of Condé, who had been taken ill, his Highness, shewing him the letters, treated him in so outrageous a manner, that he was seized with a fever, and died in a short time: to so great a degree was he affected with grief and vexation.

Some time afterwards, the King sent orders to the parliament of Paris * to remove to Pontoise, with which that assembly absolutely refused to comply: and, excepting the president de Novion†, and seven or eight others of the members, the rest remained at Paris.

The people in general were so much disgusted at the conduct of their leaders, that, had any one made his appearance amongst them, whom they had never heard of before, he would have been the person whom they would have chosen to head them, and whose party would have been the most numerous.

It is certain, however, that, as much as the Parisians were displeased with the court, they were still more so with each other. The parliamentarians agreed but ill amongst themselves, and they were upon still worse terms with the Princes. The Princes themselves were but indifferently affected towards each other, and they no longer relied on the support of the parliament. The people,

* In the year 1652.

† Nicholas Poitier de Novion, president *a mortis*, and afterwards first president.

on their side, now shewed an equal disregard for the *Frondeurs* of the parliament, and for those of the Princes party.

The court, being informed of all these misunderstandings and disturbances, determined to return to Paris, without entering into a negotiation with any person whatever, and only to send their emissaries, to sound the dispositions of the people, and to procure the concurrence of the colonels and captains of the city-guard in the different quarters.

The Abbé Fouquet was sent privately to Paris on that business, together with the Duke de Bourbonville, a native of Flanders, whose very name was scarcely known to the public before that time. They prided themselves greatly in the success they met with in the execution of their commission, although every thing was ready done to their hands, or, at least, was in great forwardness, through the disposition which the people had been induced to adopt, in consequence of the late outrage committed at the Hotel de Ville.

At first, several assemblies were held at the *Palais Royal*, at which the royalists who attended wore paper in their hats, to distinguish themselves from the *Frondeurs*, who wore straw as a badge of their party.

The Parisians appeared to give themselves no concern about these assemblies and different distinctions. And on the King's birth-day large bonfires were made before the gates of the *Palais Royal*, and even at some distance from that spot: which example was followed by the citizens in most of the other quarters of the city; and they further expressed

expressed their loyalty by drinking, in the most solemn manner, to his Majesty's health.

Cardinal de Retz, having gained intelligence of the intrigues which were secretly carrying on in Paris, on behalf of the court, offered to take the management of them upon himself, and engaged to bring them to a favourable issue. The court thanked him for his offer, and pretended to accept of it; but, at the same time, they strictly enjoined the agents, whom they had employed in those intrigues, not to admit him to any share in them, and to be particularly on their guard against him of all men whatever. He would not, however, suffer himself to be excluded at any rate.

The Prince of Condé, perceiving very clearly that he had nothing further to expect from the Parisians, and that it would be utterly impossible to prevent the city from accommodating matters with the court, retired into Flanders, and the Duke of Lorraine, for the same reason, retired thither also.

Immediately after their departure, it was openly reported, that the King and the Queen intended to return to Paris in a short time; which gave fresh courage to the *Maxarins*, and reduced the *Frondeurs* to utter despondency. The provost of the merchants waited on the King, in the name of the corporation, and of all the inhabitants of the city, to request that his Majesty would be pleased to return thither.

After which, and previous to the return of the court, his Majesty sent orders to the Duke of Orleans to retire to Blois, and to Mademoiselle, his daughter, to repair to Bois-le-Vicomte. But she, being

being strongly influenced by a fear for her safety, chose to go as far as Saint Fargeau. The people even suffered the Duke of Beaufort and Broussel to be driven from the city, with as little concern as if they had never heard their names mentioned.

Some of the members of the parliament, also, were exiled, together with the Dutcheffes de Montbazon and de Châtillon, and even a few of those who had most distinguished themselves by their mutinous conduct amongst the rabble; no one appearing to interest himself in the least in their behalf.

A number of seats and a bed of justice were erected in a gallery of the Louvre, in the same manner as at the Palais: and the King commanded the attendance of the members of the several courts, for the purpose of holding a parliament. But, as the King did not mean to consider this parliament as being in its corporate capacity, on account of its removal from the usual place of meeting, instead of sending the master of the ceremonies to the grand chamber, to convene the members, according to antient custom, a letter *de Cachet* was delivered to each of them separately; in obedience to which they repaired to the Louvre, where they were joined by those of their brethren who had composed the parliament of Pontoise: and the King afterwards ratified all the edicts which had been issued at Paris respecting private persons.

This authoritative manner, in which the court acted immediately on their return, created a belief that some persons of a greater capacity, than those who had been employed as ministers during the regency, had now the direction of affairs; from whence it was frequently suspected, that these and many

many of the subsequent measures had been suggested by Michel le Tellier.

From the very next day after the King's return to Paris, all things wore as peaceable an appearance in that city, as if the *Fronde* had never existed, and the royal authority seemed to be as firmly established as it had been before the late commotions.

Nevertheless, as Cardinal Mazarin still absented himself, it was plainly to be seen, that there was some secret reason which prevented his return, his power being universally acknowledged, both at court and amongst the people; but no one could form a judgment what that reason might be.

Cardinal de Retz, on his side, was very much perplexed†. Although the court had accepted of his offers and his services, although they had even employed him, although he had been present at the Louvre at the time of the King's arrival, and, finally, although he had preach'd before their Majesties, since their return; he, nevertheless, well knew what he merited; and, he appeared to be under continual apprehensions. He even declined going, as usual, to the Louvre for some time. But it was so strongly represented to him that it would be impossible for him to continue any time upon that footing with the court, that he, at length, consented to return thither, but not without many hesitations and delays. On this occasion, he was convinced that his fears had been but too well founded; for soon after he entered the palace he

* Michel le Tellier: he died in the post of chancellor of France, in 1685.

† In the year 1652.

was detained a prisoner, by which measure a final stop was put to the public troubles, and every one, after this event, sought to effect his accommodation with the court.

In a short time after Cardinal de Retz had been deprived of his liberty, Cardinal Mazarin returned to Paris, where the people appeared to have as much forgotten the hatred which they had formerly entertained for him, as the attachment which they had manifested for the *Fronde*.

It was readily conceived, that Cardinal Mazarin had thus delayed his return till after the imprisonment of Cardinal de Retz, solely with the view of inducing an opinion in the court of Rome, that the ministers had resolved on and had executed that measure without his participation, in order that the detention of one of his brethren might not be imputed to him.

The Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville were so much occupied with the care of recovering their credit in Bourdeaux and in the province, that they totally forgot that they were at open enmity with the court, and imagined that they had no other foes than those two confidants of the Prince of Condé, whom that Prince had left to manage his affairs: which did not benefit their own interest, nor those of his party.

An assembly was afterwards held, near Bourdeaux, which was composed of the lowest and of the most mutinous people of the province, who met, for the first time, at a house called the *Ormée*: from which circumstance the assembly obtained the same title.

The Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville

gueville acquired an authority amongst these people: they introduced among them, some persons who were totally devoted to their service, and, as this commotion insensibly and naturally encreased, this Prince and Princess, observing that the parliament, who were well acquainted with the intentions of the Prince of Condé, suffered themselves to be directed by the advice of Marfin and Lene alone, insinuated to some of the leaders of the Ormée, that the parliament were become *Mazarins*, and that they had abandoned the interests of the Prince of Condé: which induced those mutineers to carry matters to that length against them, (the parliament) that they were obliged to retire from the city, although it was to them that the Prince of Condé owed the favourable reception which he had met with from the province. Affairs, therefore, now continued to grow worse and worse, since the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville had thought proper to countenance an assembly of mutineers, in preference to the parliament, that mob of the rabble not being able to afford the Prince of Condé so solid a support, as an assembly of the respectable character of the parliament.

That same secretary of the Prince of Conti, who, in order to obtain an influence over the Dutchess de Longueville, had exerted himself to effect a disagreement between the Duke de la Rochefoucault and her; that same secretary, I say, found that the assistance of that Princess was but of little benefit to him: and he concluded that it would be more for his advantage to acquire a credit with his master, independently of the Dutchess de Longueville. He, accordingly, again found means to

create

create a variance between her and that Prince: which occasioned a fresh disturbance in Bourdeaux, and which threw the Prince of Condé's affairs into the utmost disorder and confusion.

A person named Guyonnet, one of the members of the parliament of Bourdeaux, remarkable for his abilities, effected his own accommodation with the court, together with that of the whole assembly.

When the Prince of Condé received intelligence of all these particulars from Marfin and Lené, he expressed the utmost concern and vexation; and this served to encrease the contempt which he entertained for his brother and sister. At length, these various disagreements arose to so high a pitch at Bourdeaux, that the different parties concerned themselves solely about their own private quarrels, totally neglecting the affairs of the Prince of Condé.

The Prince of Conti and the Dutches de Longueville eagerly closed with the very first proposal made to them by the court for an accommodation. They compelled the city also to do the same: and what gave this Prince and Princess the most satisfaction was, that they each deceived the other on the occasion.

The Prince of Conti entered into a treaty with the Duke de Candale, whom the court had empowered to negotiate with him, in which his marriage was concluded and agreed on with Mademoiselle Martinozzi, the niece of Cardinal Mazarin.

The Dutches de Longueville, in like manner, on her, side treated, without his knowledge, with the Duke de Vendôme*, who came to Bourdeaux with the fleet, in quality of admiral.

* César, Duke de Vendôme: he died in 1665.

One of the articles of the Prince of Conti's treaty was, that his brother and sister should never be permitted to return to Paris; and one of those in that of the Dutchess de Longueville was, that the court should set on foot a negotiation, to effect a reconciliation between her and her husband.

After the conclusion of these treaties, there scarcely appeared in the kingdom any remains of the late disturbances; and the few which still existed were soon totally dissipated. But, from the above period, the King's reign has been distinguished, solely, by a continual and miraculous succession of extraordinary deeds, worthy of an eternal remembrance and admiration, and which must be attributed less to the good fortune of that Prince, than to his excellent qualities, which have incited him to undertake and to execute such a variety of actions, so incredible in themselves, that they will one day cause our history to be considered as fabulous, by the small degree of probability which they will appear to possess, when compared with the transactions of future ages, and with all that we most admire in our own.

End of the Third and last Part.

ERRATA:

Page.	Line.	
3	35	For <i>as received</i> , read <i>has received</i> .
9	32	For <i>a coachman</i> , read <i>as coachman</i> .
56	35	For <i>of his rights</i> , read <i>on his rights</i> .
65	20	For <i>of scruples</i> , read <i>and scruples</i> .
76	16	For <i>breaking of</i> , read <i>breaking up of</i> .
106	17	For <i>neither</i> , read <i>either</i> ; and for <i>nor</i> , read <i>or</i> .
107	2	For <i>conservation</i> , read <i>conversations</i> .
115	14	Dele <i>bad</i> .
149	26	For <i>attempts to assassinate</i> , read <i>attempt to assassinate him</i> .
178	27	For <i>on the point becoming</i> , read <i>on the point of becoming</i> .
181	11	For <i>was the Queen's</i> , read <i>was the Queen</i> .
181	12	For <i>action</i> , read <i>notion</i> .
183	4	For <i>this subject</i> , read <i>the subject</i> .
195	24	For <i>the reigns</i> , read <i>the reigns</i> .
206	2	For <i>account</i> , read <i>accord</i> .
208	4	For <i>that</i> , read <i>than</i> .
214	22	For <i>dare</i> , read <i>dared</i> .
216	22	For <i>consuet</i> , read <i>conduct</i> .
237	2	For <i>of baranguing</i> , read <i>for baranguing</i> .



